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THE
VILLAGE and the LANDLORD

By EDWARD CARPENTER.

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THE VILLAGE AND THE LANDLORD.

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~~My object in this paper is simply to describe the economic conditions of a single country parish, here in England, and from the consideration of these conditions to draw some inferences towards our future policy with regard to the land. In modern life—in every department of it, one may say—bedrock facts are so veiled over by complex and adventitious growths that it is difficult to see the proper and original outline of any problem with which we are dealing; and so it certainly is in this matter of the land question. Anyone glancing at a country village, say in the neighborhood of London, probably sees a mass of villas, people hurrying to a railway station, motor cars, and so forth; but as to where the agricultural workers are, what they are doing, how they live, what their relations may be to the land and the land owners—these things are obscure, not easily seen, and difficult to get information about. And yet these are the things, one may say, which are most vital, most important.~~

The parish which I have in mind to describe is a rather large and straggling parish in a rural district, with a small population, some 500 souls, almost entirely agricultural in character, consisting of farmers, farm laborers, woodmen, and so forth, with a few miners and small artisans—~~on the whole a pretty hard-working, industrious lot. Fortunately, one may say, there is hardly anything resembling a villa in the whole parish; there is no resident squire, and the business man is conspicuous by his absence. The place therefore forms a good example for the study of the agricultural land question. The farms are not over large, being mostly between fifty and one hundred acres in extent. There is just the land, and the population living mainly by the cultivation of it. This population, as I have hinted, is not lacking in industry; it is fairly healthy and well grown; there is no severe poverty; and (probably owing to the absence of the parasite classes) it is better off than most of our agricultural populations. Yet it is poor, one may almost say very poor. Probably, of the hundred families in the parish, the average income is not much over £60 a year; and many, of course, can by no means reach even that standard.~~

Financial Conditions of the Village.

Let us consider some of the financial and other conditions which lead to this state of affairs. In the first place, I find that the inhabitants have to pay in actual rent to their landlords about £2,500 a year. In fact, the gross estimated rental of the parish is about £3,250, but as there are quite a few small freeholders the amount actually paid in rent is reduced to £2,500. Nearly the whole of this goes off out of the parish and never comes back again. The duke and most of the other landlords are absentees. This forms at once, as is obvious, a severe tax on the inhabitants. One way or another the hundred families out of what they produce from the land have to pay £2,500 a year into alien hands—or, averaging it, £25 per family! and this, if their average income is now only £60, is certainly a heavy burden; since, if they had not to pay this sum, their income might be £85. No doubt it will be said, "Here we see the advantage of having resident squires. The money would then return to the parish." But would it? Would it return to those who produced it? No; it would not. The spoliation of the toilers would only be disguised, not remedied. In fact, let us suppose (a quite ordinary case) that the parish in question were owned by a single resident squire, and that the £2,500 were paid to him in rent. That rent would only go to support a small extra population of servants and dependents in the place. One or two small shops might be opened; but to the farmer and farm worker no advantage would accrue. There might be a slightly increased sale of milk and eggs; but this again would be countervailed by many disadvantages. "Sport" over all the farm lands would become a chronic nuisance; the standard and cost of living, dress, etc., would be raised; and the feeble and idiotic life of the "gentry," combined with their efforts to patronize and intimidate, would go far to corrupt the population generally. In this parish then, of which I am speaking, the people may be truly thankful that they have not any resident squires. All the same, the tax of £25 per family is levied upon them to support such squires in some place or other, and is a permanent burden upon their lives.

No adv to having land owned by local squire

Enclosure of the Commons.

Less than a hundred years ago there were in this parish extensive common lands. In fact, of the 4,600 acres of which the parish consists, 2,650, or considerably more than half, were commons. They were chiefly moors and woods; but were, needless to say, very valuable to cottagers and small farmers. Here was pasture for horses, cows, sheep, pigs, geese; here in the woods was firewood to be got, and bracken for bedding; on the moors, rabbits, bilberries, turf for fuel, etc. In 1820 these commons were enclosed; and this is another thing that has helped to cripple the lives of the inhabitants. As is well known, during all that period systematic enclosure of the common lands of Great Britain was going on. In a landlord House of Parliament it was easy enough to get bills passed. Any stick will do to beat a dog with; and it was easy to say that

Enclosure of public lands.

these lands, being common lands, were not so well cultivated as they might be, and that *therefore* the existing landlords ought to share them up. The logic might not be very convincing, but it served its purpose. The landlords appropriated the common lands; and during the 120 years from 1760 to 1880, *ten millions of acres* in Great Britain were thus enclosed.*

In 1820 the turn of this particular parish came, and its 2,650 acres of commons "went in." I used to know an old man of the locality who remembered when they "went in." He used to speak of the occurrence as one might speak of a sinister and fatal event of nature—a landslide or an earthquake. There was no idea that it could have been prevented. The commons simply went in! The country folk witnessed the proceeding with dismay; but, terrorized by their landlords, and with no voice in Parliament, they were helpless.

It may be interesting to see some of the details of the operation. In the Enclosure Award Book, still kept in the parish, there remains a full account. The Duke of Rutland, as lord of the manor, as impropiator for tithes, as proprietor, and so forth, got the lion's share, nearly 2,000 acres. The remaining 650 acres went to the other landlords. Certain manorial and tithe rights were remitted as a kind of compensation, and the thing was done. In the Award Book the duke's share is given as follows:—

	Acres.	Roods.
1. "As Impropiator for tithes of corn, grain, and hay; and in lieu of and full compensation for all manner of tithes, both great and small"	1381	3
2. "As Lord of the Manor," and in compensation for certain manorial rights, "and for his consent to the said enclosure" ...	108	2
3. "For chief rents," amounting in the whole to £14	28	2
4. "For enfranchisement of copyholds" ...	11	3
5. "As proprietor"	18	2
6. "By sale to defray the expenses of the Act"	449	1
	1998	1

Thus we find, in exchange for the ducal tithes, nearly a third of the whole area of the parish handed over—most of it certainly not the best lands, but lands having considerable value as woods and moors. We find some acres adjudged to the duke in consideration of his kind "consent" to the transaction. And, most wonderful of all, nearly 450 acres surrendered by the parish to defray the expenses of getting the Act through Parliament! And now to-day in the said parish there is not a little field or corner left—absolutely not a solitary acre out of all the vast domain which was once for the people's use—on which the village boys can play their game of cricket! Indeed, most valuable tracts were enclosed quite in the

* See Mulhall's *Dictionary of Statistics*, "Enclosures."

centre of the village itself—as, for instance, a piece which is still called “The Common,” though it is no longer common, and many bits on which little cottages had been erected by quite small folk. It would be a very desirable thing that the enclosure award books in other parishes should be investigated, and the corresponding facts with regard to the ancient commons brought to light generally over the country.*

FARMER HURT BY LAND RENTS
Incidence of the Rates.

A third thing which cripples the agricultural interest very considerably is the incidence of the rates. The farmer's dread of a rise in rates has become almost proverbial. And it is by no means unnatural or unreasonable. For there is probably no class whose estimated rental is so large, compared with their actual net income, as the farmer class. A farmer whose farm, after deducting all expenses of rent, rates, manure, wages, etc., yields him a clear profit of no more than £100 a year for his household use is quite probably paying £70 a year in rent. But a superior artizan or small professional man who is making £150 a year will very likely be only paying £20 in rent. It is obvious that any slight increase in the rates will fall much more heavily on the first man than on the second. The rates, therefore, are a serious matter to the farmer; and something in the way of shifting their incidence, and distributing the burden more fairly, ought certainly to be done.†

As an instance of this latter point, let me again refer to the parish in question. We have seen that some 2,600 acres of common lands passed over to the landlords in 1820, ostensibly for the public advantage and benefit. Of these, more than 1,500 acres of moor land, held by the duke, are rated on an estimated rental of less than 2s. 6d. per acre. The general farm lands of the parish are rated on an estimated rental of 14s. or 15s. per acre on the average. Thus the moor lands are assessed at about one-sixth of the value of the farm lands. This is perhaps excessively low; but the matter might pass, if it were not for a somewhat strange fact—namely, that a few years ago when some twenty acres of these very moor lands were wanted for a matter of great public advantage and benefit, that is, for the formation of a reservoir, the ducal estate could not part with them under £50 an acre; and a little later, when an extension of acreage was required, the district council had to pay a much higher price, so that the total purchase, first and last, comes out at more than £150 per acre! Now here is something very seriously out of joint. Either the moor lands are worth a capital value of £150 an acre, in which case they ought to be assessed at, say £5, instead of at 2s. 6d.; or else, if the rating at 2s. 6d. is really just and fair,

* *Some Forgotten Facts in the History of Sheffield and District* (Independent Press, Sheffield, 1907, price 2s. 6d.) contains valuable information of this kind.

† I am not here discussing the question of how far a rise of rates falls upon the landlord; for, though this may ultimately and in the far distance be so, it is clear that the farmer primarily feels the pinch, and not till he is nearly ruined is there any chance of his getting a corresponding abatement of rent.

surely it is monstrous that the public, having to carry through a most important and necessary improvement, should be "held up" and made to pay a ruinous price, simply because the land cannot be obtained elsewhere. The conclusion is: Let such lands be rated in accordance with the capital value set upon them by their owners, and we shall have a much fairer and more equitable distribution of the public burden.

The Nuisance of "Sport." - *wealthy people's hunting*

And this matter of the moors leads to the consideration of a fourth cause which cripples the land cultivator terribly in this country. I mean Sport. The nuisance and detriment that this is to the farmer has become so great that, unless strict measures are soon taken, widespread ruin will ensue. In many subtle ways this acts. With the enormous growth of wealthy and luxurious classes during the last fifty years, the tendency has been to turn the country districts into a mere playground. The very meaning of the word sport has changed. The careful working of covers by the occasional sportsman has been replaced by clumsy battues, with wild shouts and shrieks of "drivers," and huge slaughter of birds, half tame, and specially bred for the purpose. Mobs of people, anxious to appear fashionable, and rigged out by their tailors in befitting costume, are formed into shooting parties. Rich men, wanting to get into society, hire moors and woods, regardless of expense, regardless of animal slaughter, regardless of agricultural interests, as long as they get an opportunity to invite their friends.* In Devonshire to-day the farms in many parts are simply eaten up by rabbits, because the landlords, in order to provide plenty of shooting, insist on spinneys and copses and hedgerows and waste bits being retained in their wild state for purposes of cover! On the northern moors the rabbits similarly devastate the farms along the moor edges—not because the rabbits are preserved, for the shooting is mainly of grouse and pheasants, but because the moors, being uncared for except in this way, the rabbits are allowed to multiply without check. They are the gamekeeper's perquisite. Yet if the farmer who has a farm adjoining the moor carries a gun to protect himself against their invasions, it is conveyed to him (if a tenant of the same landlord) that he had better not do so, lest he should be suspected of shooting the grouse! Thus he is paralysed from his own defence. In the parish of which I am speaking there are lands along the moor edges which used to grow oats and other crops, but which now, on account of the rabbit nuisance, are quite uncultivable in that way, and only yield the barest pasture.

* The financing of these affairs is funny. A large moor will let for the grouse season for £3,000, say on the condition of grouse being bagged up to, but not beyond, 2,400 brace. Mid-week parties hurry in by rail and motor, stay for two or, perhaps, three nights, and hurry off again, to be succeeded by other parties the following weeks. The whole thing is conducted in the most mechanical way, with "drives," "batteries," and so forth. And when the expenses are added up, including men employed, guests entertained, and rent paid, they certainly do not fall far short of the proverbial guinea a bird!

Fifty Years of Agricultural Decay.

In and about 1850, when wheat more than once reached £5 a quarter, the farmers and landlords were doing a roaring trade. Rents were high, but the land could afford it. Farmers were anxious to increase the size of their holdings, and landlords were not averse to this, as it saved them trouble. And so set in that tendency to roll small holdings into big ones which continued, with baneful effect, during all the second half of the century. Sport at the same time came in to increase the action. It was easier to pacify the few than the many over that matter. It was simpler to hunt a pack of hounds over two or three large farms than across a network of small holdings. Besides, the New Rich, as well as the elder gentry, wanted widespread parks, and not a democratic rabble of cottagers at their very doors. And so the game went on. Soon prices of farmstuff fell heavily. But it is easier to get rents up than to get them down again. The alleviations of rent which *have* taken place since 1854 have been only painfully gained and grudgingly yielded. Wheat which was at 100 shillings a quarter then has been the last few years at about 30 shillings! And though other farmstuffs have not fallen in like degree, yet during all that period of declining prices, the British farmer has been pinched and pined all over the country. The landlord has been on top of him; and with holdings often much too large for his need, and a yearly balance too small, he has employed far less labor and tillage than he ought to have done; his land has lost heart; and he has lost heart—till he has become to-day probably the least enterprising and least up-to-date of all the agriculturists of Western Europe.* *AGAIN ASPECT OF DEMOCRATIC STATE*

Such are some at least of the causes which have contributed to the decay of agriculture in this country; and their consideration may indicate the directions in which to seek for a cure.

Security of Tenure Needed.

What is needed, first and foremost, is very obviously security of tenure, under such conditions as shall give both farmer and cottager a powerful interest in the land and its improvement. It is often said, and supposed, that the countryman now-a-days does not care about the land and the rural life, and is longing to exchange it for town life. I do not find this so. I find that he is compelled into town life by the hard conditions which prevail in the country—but not that he *wants* to leave the latter. Indeed, I am amazed at the tenacity with which he clings to the land, despite the long hours and the heavy toil; nor can one witness without wonder and admiration the really genuine interest which he feels in its proper treatment, quite apart from any advantage or disadvantage to himself. It is common to find a farm laborer expressing satisfaction or disgust at the good or bad tillage of a field with which he is in no way connected; or to see a small farmer's son working early and late, perhaps up to the age of thirty, with no wages but a mere pittance

* There are many farms of 500 or 600 acres in Gloucestershire only employing five or six hands—or one man to a hundred acres!

in the way of pocket-money, and only a remote prospect of inheriting at some future date his share of the farm-stock and savings, and yet taking a whole-hearted interest in the work not really different from that which an artist may feel. There is some splendid material here—in these classes neglected by the nation, and overlaid by a tawdry and cheap-jack civilization.

~~I say it is clear that they must be given a secure and liberal tenure of the land and be free once for all from the caprice of the private landlord with his insolences of political intimidation and sport, and his overbearance in parochial affairs. The absolute speechlessness of our rural workers to-day on all matters of public interest is clearly, to any one who knows them, due to their mortal dread lest their words should reach the powers above. It has become an ingrained habit. And it has led of course to a real paralysis of their thinking capacity and their enterprise. But place these men in a position where the fruits of their toil will be secure, where improvements can be made, in cottage or farm, with a sense of ownership, and where their vote and voice in the councils of the parish will not be dependent on squire or parson; and the world will be astonished at the result.~~

Public Ownership.

DACT.
~~There are two main directions in which to go in the matter of secure tenure. One is the creation of more small freeholds; the other is the throwing of lands into the hands of public authorities, and the creation of permanent tenures under them. Though the latter embodies the best general principle, I do not think that forms a reason for ruling out freeholds altogether. In all these matters variety is better than uniformity; and a certain number of freeholds would probably be desirable. In the same way with regard to public ownership, if anything like nationalization of the land is effected, I think it should decidedly be on the same principle of variety—creating not only State and municipal ownership, but ownership by county councils, district councils, parish councils, etc.—with a leaning perhaps towards the more local authorities, because the needs of particular lands and the folk occupying them are likely on the whole to be better understood and allowed for in the locality than from a distance.~~

Let us suppose, in the parish which I have taken for my text, that by some kind of political miracle, all the lands on which rents are now being paid to absent landlords were transferred to the ownership of the Parish Council. Then at once the latter body would come into an income of £2,500 a year. At one blow the whole burden of the rates would fall off, and still a large balance be left for public works and improvements of all kinds. It might be allowable, for a moment, to draw a picture of the utopian conditions which would ensue—the rates all paid, the rents milder and more equal than before, the wages of parish workers raised, free meals for school-children provided, capital available for public buildings, free libraries, agricultural engines and machinery, also for improving or administer-

example of moderate
local conditions
9

ing common lands and woods, and so forth. There is no danger of course of so delirious an embarrassment actually occurring! for any scheme of nationalization would take a long time, and would only gradually culminate, and no scheme would place the whole lands of a parish at the disposal of a single body like the parish council. But the example helps us to realize the situation. Every farmer and cottager whose holding was under a public body would know and feel that whatever rent he might have to pay, it would come back to him in public advantages, in the ordaining of which he would have a voice; he would know that he would be in no danger of disturbance as long as he paid his rent; and in the matter of capital improvements in land or building he might either make them himself (with the council's consent), in which case if he should decide later on to quit the holding, the council would compensate him, knowing that the rental paid by the new tenant would be correspondingly increased; or he could get the council (if willing) to make the improvement, and himself pay a correspondingly increased rent for it. In either case he would have as good a bargain, and almost as free a hand, as if he were on his own freehold.

Small Holdings.

Security of tenure, largely through public ownership, must certainly be one of the first items of a land-reform program. Another item, the importance of which is now being widely felt, is the making provision for the effective supply of small holdings. Whether the present Small Holdings and Allotments Act (of 1907) will prove effective or not remains to be seen. But something effective in that direction must clearly be done. By small holdings I mean holdings, freehold or leasehold, from twenty-five acres down to one or two acres in extent, each with cottage and buildings attached.* Of this class of holding (largely owing to the "rolling up" policy of last century) there is an absolute famine in the land. The demand, the outcry, for them is great, but the supply is most scanty. Yet this class covers some of the most important work of modern agriculture, and a great variety of such work. It includes, in its smaller sizes, market gardens, with intensive culture of all kinds, and glass, besides the kind of holding occupied by the professional man or other worker who supplements his income by some small cultivation; and in its larger sizes it includes nurseries, as well as small arable and pasture farms. The starvation that exists to-day in Britain of all these classes of industry is a serious matter.†

* The Act of 1907 defines a "small holding" as exceeding one acre and not exceeding fifty acres.

† It will be said that if there is such a demand for small holdings, the supply will soon by natural laws be forthcoming. But as a matter of fact under our present system this is not so—and for three reasons: (1) The slowness of the landed classes to perceive the needs of the day—even though to their own interest; (2) The want of capital among a great number of them, which makes them unwilling to face the breaking up of large farms and the building of extra cottages; (3) The fact that those who have money are careless about public needs, and do not want to see a sturdy population of small holders about their doors.

In the parish with which we are dealing, owing partly to its distance from a market, the demand for such holdings takes chiefly the form of a demand for small arable and pasture farms. But the need of these is great, as indeed it is nearly all over the country. A holding of this kind, of any size from five to twenty acres, forms an excellent stepping-stone for a farm laborer or farmer's son towards a position of independence. A second or third son of a farmer, not likely to follow his father in the occupation of the farm, has to-day only a poor prospect. Unable to command enough capital to stock a large farm himself, and unable to find a small one, he has but two alternatives—to drift down into the fruitless life of the farm laborer, or else to go off and try his luck in town. If, as is most often the case, he is twenty-five or so before the need of making a decision comes upon him, his chances of learning a town trade are closed, and the first alternative is all that is left. Yet the small holder of this kind is often one of the most effective and useful types of agricultural worker. On a holding, say of fifteen acres, while he cannot get an adequate living for himself and family by ordinary farm methods, yet he can gain a considerable amount, which he supplements by working as a useful hand for neighbors at harvest and other times. Being thrown on his resources, and not having *too* much land, he gains more than the average out of it, and his own ingenuities and capacities are developed; so that, as a rule, he is the most resourceful and capable type of man in the district. It is of the most vital importance to the country that this type of man, and his class of holding, should be encouraged.

Agricultural Co-operation.

~~There is one method which I have so far neglected to mention by which both security of tenure and small holdings can be obtained—I mean Co-operation.~~ The formation of co-operative societies for the purchase of large farms, for the division of them, the building of cottages, and the leasing of small holdings so obtained, is one of the most hopeful directions for the future. It ought to be easy for the public authorities to lend money on perfectly safe terms for this purpose. What co-operation has done and is doing for agriculture in other countries—in the way of establishing banks, land-holding societies, societies for butter-making, egg-collecting, buying of feeding stuffs and manures, sale of produce, etc., is now perfectly well known. Ireland even has left England behind in this matter; but England and Scotland will have to level up. It is a sign, at least of good intentions, that the late Act gives power to the County Councils to promote and assist the formation and working of co-operative agricultural societies of all kinds.

Re-transfer of Old Common Lands and Declaration of Land Values.

One of the very first things, I think, which ought to be taken up is this question of the commons. If ten million acres between 1760 and 1880 passed so easily from the public use into the exclusive

hands of the land owners, surely there ought not to be much difficulty in passing them back again. As I have said, they were appropriated mainly on the plea that, being commons, they were inadequately cultivated. ~~The main cultivation they have received from the landlords has been of rabbits, grouse, and other game!~~ The public has been simply played with in the matter; and agricultural interests, instead of being extended and improved, have been severely damaged. When we realize, in addition to this, that, owing to the increase of the general population and its needs, these tracts which passed into private hands with such slender compensation to the public, are now held up at ruinous prices, we realize that it is high time that the game should cease; and that the lands which Parliament voted away from the public in those days should now be voted back again—and with “compensation” on a similar scale. These lands are still largely in the hands of the families to whom they were awarded; and the transfer could perhaps be most fairly and reasonably effected by their simple reversion to the public on the expiration of existing life interests in them. But of course there would have to be land courts to deal with and compensate special cases, as where the land had changed hands, and so forth.

The value of such ancient common lands to the public would now be very great. Large portions of them would be suitable for cultivation and for allocation in small holdings; the villages would again have a chance of public playgrounds and cricket grounds; the Parish councils would have lands (so much needed and so difficult to obtain) for allotment gardens; the District councils might turn many an old woodland into a public park; while the wilder moors and mountains could be held under County councils or the State, either for afforestation, or as reserves for the enjoyment of the public, and the preservation of certain classes of wild animals and birds, now in danger of extinction.

Let a large measure of this kind be passed retransferring the main portion of the common lands into public hands; and at the same time ~~a measure compelling owners in the future to declare their land values, and giving power to the public bodies to purchase on the basis of the values so declared; and already we should have made two important steps towards bringing the land of the nation into the possession of its rightful owners.~~

pay the powerful owners
their share

meaning of
rightful owners

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PARISH COUNCILS AND VILLAGE LIFE.

A REVISED EDITION OF
"FIVE YEARS' FRUITS OF THE PARISH COUNCILS ACT."
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PARISH COUNCILS AND VILLAGE LIFE.

SINCE 1894 every rural parish containing more than 300 inhabitants has had a parish council to manage its local affairs. These councils are elected once every three years. There will be elections in March or April, 1922, 1925, 1928, etc. If there is not a good parish council in any parish, the electors should take care to get a good one at the next election.*

What use is the Parish Council?

Many people are saying that the parish councils are of no use to the parishes, and that they have done nothing for the poor man. It is quite true that in most places the parish councils have not done much. In many villages they have done nothing at all. But where they have done nothing at all, it is largely because the wrong men have been elected. In most parishes the farmers and shopkeepers and innkeepers do not like the parish council, because they are afraid of having to pay higher rates, and very few of the squires and parsons believe in it or care much about it.†

These people go about saying that parish councils are of no use at all to anybody. Unfortunately, many labourers and other simple folk believe this. They hoped much from the parish councils, and they have got little or nothing. But it is not true that parish councils are of no use to the poor man. They have taken the power over the village affairs out of the hands of individuals or cliques, and taught the labourer that his vote is as good as that of anyone else. In hundreds of different parishes up and down England and Wales the parish councils have done a great deal of good. In many parishes they have got allotments of grazing or gardening land for men who wanted them; they have protected the poor man's common or village green, and often obtained additional land for common pasture; they have appointed their own men to manage the village charities, and have sometimes restored to the poor charity-money which had formerly been misapplied; they have seen to it that the charities should go to those who really needed them, whatever political or religious opinions they might hold; they have got better drinking water for the cottages, digging new wells and putting up new pumps where required; they have

* For a plain statement of the law about parish councils, exact particulars as to who can vote and who can be elected, and full explanation about the method of election, see Fabian Tract No. 62, "Parish and District Councils: what they are and what they can do." Id. It will be posted to any person sending 1½d. in stamps to the Secretary, Fabian Society, 25 Tothill Street, London, S.W. 1.

† For this reason no proper report has been published by the Government, as was its plain duty, showing what the parish councils have done. The facts in this Tract have been gathered from more than a hundred separate reports obtained by the Fabian Society from parishes all over the country; from the printed reports and proceedings of county and rural district councils; and from various Parliamentary papers.

cleaned out filthy ponds and ditches, and done away with nuisances which were injuring the health of the village; they have maintained and repaired the footpaths, and prevented the stopping up of public rights of way; they have looked after the rates and taxes and sometimes saved the parish large sums of money by preventing dishonest officers stealing the cash or dealing unfairly with the assessments; they have put up lamps to light the village streets at night; they have procured fire engines to put out fires; they have provided open bathing places and sometimes regular baths for men and women; they have laid out playgrounds for the children, cricket fields for the young men, and pleasant walks among trees, with seats for the weary; they have erected parish halls where needed; and they have sometimes set going libraries and reading rooms for the free use of the parish. All this, and much more, has been done by the parish councils in those parishes in which the right men have been elected. This Tract is written to tell of their success. What these parishes have done, others can do.

Allotments.

Perhaps the most important duty of Parish Councils is the provision of allotments, now not only "for the labouring population" as the Act expressed it, but for all the inhabitants. (Land Settlement (Facilities) Act, 1919. Third schedule.) On December 31st, 1914, 51,957 persons and five associations held allotments from parish councils, and they occupied 3,928 acres owned and 18,538 hired by the councils. During the earlier years of the war all acquisition of land by councils was for the most part stopped, but when the food supply was endangered, the Government urged everybody to grow his own food, with the result that allotments were started everywhere. In quite a number of villages in 1914 only one person held an allotment from the parish council; on the other hand:—

Wolverton, Bucks (pop. 7,384)	...	...	had	800
Blackwell, Derby (pop. 4,662)	...	...	"	310
Elmton-with-Cresswell, Derby (pop. 5,631)	...	...	"	284
Headington, Oxford (pop. 4,488)	...	...	"	262
Whitechurch, Glamorgan (pop. 9,079)	...	...	"	251
Soham, Cambridge (pop. 4,682)	...	...	"	236
Bradwell, Bucks (pop. 3,938)	...	...	"	225
Wisbech St. Mary, Isle of Ely (pop. 2,099)	...	...	"	214
Condon, Durham (pop. 6,912)	...	...	"	212

In Norfolk 134 parishes had acquired land for allotments by 1914, in Devon 72, in Essex 60, in Kent 72, in Somerset 67, and so on. Altogether about 1,400 parishes out of 7,000 have allotments acquired by the council or by the parish meeting; but it must be recollected that in a great many parishes all the land required is voluntarily supplied by the owners direct to the allotment holders.

Even in the old days before the war the parish councils usually succeeded in getting enough land by agreement with the landlord, which is much the best way for all parties. Sometimes the land-owners or parsons have shown themselves willing to help the parish

council, as, for example, at Shepton Beauchamp (Somerset) and at Eaglescliffe (Durham), where the good offices of the rector smoothed the way to the acquisition of some 28 acres of excellent grass land for the laborers of the village. An admirable instance of energy is afforded by the Parish Council of Belbroughton (Worcestershire). This is a village inhabited mainly by nailmakers, who, in consequence of the rapid increase of machinery, found their old industry of nailmaking by hand could no longer provide them with even the bare living wage that they had been used to make. In 1895 the parish council took a field of 18 acres and accommodated 30 nailers. The next year 16 acres were added; the year after, 109 acres; and, in 1903, a further 34 acres. These 177 acres enable 112 men to obtain a livelihood as market gardeners. No less than 26 horses are employed in ploughing, carting, and carrying the produce to Birmingham and bringing back manure for the land. All this, it is worthy of remark, has been done despite the lethargy of the rural district council and the continued opposition of the chief landowner. In many cases where a landlord's obstinacy has produced a deadlock, the law has been set in motion, and he has been forced to part with some of his land to the parish.*

Here are the names of some parishes where an order has been obtained compelling the landlords to let the laborers have land:—

	Pop.
Asfordby (Leicestershire)	1,062
Ashby (Lincolnshire)	1,845
Beaghall (Yorkshire)	396
Dunsford (Devon)	633
East Rusten (Norfolk)	603
Fosdyke (Lincolnshire)	436
Gamlingay (Cambs.)	1,722
Garthorpe (Lincolnshire)	481
Goxhill (Lincolnshire)	1,174
Holt (Dorset)	820
Kexby (Lincolnshire)	300
Llandyfriog (Cardiganshire)	748
Potter Heigham (Norfolk)	426
Preston (Dorset)	664
Tarvin (Cheshire)... ..	1,093
Tydd St. Mary (Lincolnshire)	821
West Shutford (Oxfordshire)	271

* If a parish council cannot get suitable land by agreement and on reasonable terms, it should lay the case before the county council, who will then draft an order authorising the compulsory purchase or hiring for a period of not less than 14, and not more than 35, years of such land in or near the parish as is specified in the order. This order will have to be confirmed by the Board of Agriculture. If there is any opposition on behalf of the landowners concerned, or of any person interested, a local inquiry will be held, so that the Board of Agriculture may be satisfied before it confirms the order. If there is no opposition, the confirmation must be made as a matter of course. The Secretary to the Board of Agriculture, Whitehall, London, will answer any inquiries on the subject and give all necessary information. By the Lands Settlement (Facilities) Act, 1919, no confirmation by the Board of Agriculture of such order is required up to the 19th August, 1922.

Nearly all the land has been hired by the parish council at as low a rent as it could arrange, and let out to the allotment holders at a rent per pole or per rood just covering all the expenses.

Several parishes have had allotment land purchased for them either by the county council or the rural district council, the parish council in each case having the management. Thus Wigloft, in Lincolnshire, now has six acres, bought for it by the Holland County Council for £900, and paid for by a loan spread over 50 years. The parish council lets the land to 12 tenants, whose rent pays the interest and sinking fund. At the end of 50 years, the parish council will own the land free of any charge. The Parish Council of Keresley got the Warwickshire County Council to purchase 11½ acres in the parish, which the parish council now hires from the county council, and sublets to 18 tenants.

Most of this land is used for allotment gardens, varying in size from a few square yards up to an acre. But in many cases pasture land is let in larger holdings. Thus the Parish Council of Longcott, in Berkshire, has hired 10 acres of meadow which it sublets to four tenants; Shrivenham, in Berkshire, 20½ acres of pasture to three tenants; Weedon, in Buckinghamshire, 16 acres of pasture to one tenant; Clifford, in Herefordshire, four and three quarter acres to one tenant; Glen Magna, in Leicestershire, six acres of pasture to one tenant; Colyton, in Devonshire, 19 acres to three tenants; Witton Gilbert, in Durham, 32 acres to six tenants; Rothbury, in Northumberland, 46 acres to five tenants; and the Trefdraeth Parish Council, in Anglesey (pop. 682) has hired no less than 172 acres, which it has let to eleven tenants, one having about 100 acres.

Although only a portion of the total number of parishes has yet put the law as to allotments in force, more than 30,000 working men now hold land directly from their parish councils.

In many other parishes the parish council has been able, without itself hiring or purchasing land, to induce the landlords to set aside land for allotments. Thus in the parishes of Axmouth, Clawton, and Pyworthy, in Devonshire, the parish councils received applications for allotments, and successfully appealed to the landowners on behalf of the applicants. This happened also at Dunston, in Lincolnshire, Harthill-with-Woodall (Yorkshire), and many other places. The Slimbridge Parish Council (Gloucestershire) got two acres of charity land divided into allotments. Twyford Parish Council (Hampshire) owns two acres of land under an Enclosure Award, and lets this out in allotments. The Cold Ash Parish Council (Berkshire), which similarly owns eight acres let in allotments, reduced the rents to the lowest possible point, and improved the plots by providing new gates and fences. At Nayland-with-Wissington (Suffolk) the parish council got the rents of the existing allotments reduced. The Parish Council of St. Bride's Major (Glamorganshire, pop. 686) borrowed £400, on a 15 years term, in order to provide fences for its allotments on Ogmore Down.

When a parish council has obtained land for allotments, it is very useful to have definite regulations to prevent any abuse. Several

hundreds of parish councils have made such "Regulations for Allotments," and got them confirmed by the Local Government Board,* in London, so that each allotment holder may be protected from annoyance and the parish property from misuse.†

Common Pasture and Grazing Grounds.

A few parish councils have provided common pasture and grazing grounds for their villages. Thus at Soulbury (Bucks.), the parish council rents 21 acres for this purpose; at Hasland (Derbyshire), seven acres. In Yorkshire, the Ashton-cum-Aughton Parish Council rents eight acres; that of Kilham, 21 acres; and that of Beeford, 48 acres—all for the poor man's cow, the cottager's goose, and the horse or donkey of the small dealer or craftsman. And now, by the new Small Holdings Act, wherever allotments are provided and it is thought desirable to attach grazing ground to them, land may be acquired for that purpose.

Cottages.

A parish council cannot build cottages apart from allotments; but it can, without permission from anyone, appoint a committee of inquiry to report on the state of the housing in the parish, and print its report. If this committee reports that the cottages are ill-drained, unwholesome, and unfit to live in, and that new cottages ought to be built to supply the needs of the villagers, then the parish council should pass a resolution calling on the rural district council to build new cottages. If the rural district council neglects or refuses to comply with this request, the parish council can appeal to the county council, which, when satisfied that the need for new cottages exists, can order the cottages to be erected.

Under the Housing and Town Planning Act, 1909, any four inhabitant householders can appeal to the Ministry of Health if the Rural District Council does not provide all necessary cottages.

Some parish councils have got cottages repaired by complaining to the district or county council. The Parish Council of Suffield (Norfolk, pop. 207) found that the parish contained some cottages which were in very bad repair. It borrowed £100 on a 12 years term, put them in good order, and let them at satisfactory rentals.

The parish of Ixworth (Suffolk, population 856) was the first to get cottages actually built for it by the rural sanitary authority. After many complaints and repeated inquiries, the Thingoe Rural District Council bought four acres of land for £160, and built eight cottages for £1,370, borrowing the money from the Public Works Loan Commissioners at three and a quarter per cent., repayable by instalments extending over 30 years. The cottages are let at £5 10s. each a year, and the surplus land at twopence per rod. This, however, was done in 1890-1893, before parish councils existed. The first case of a parish council building cottages was that of Pens-

* These regulations will now be confirmed by the Board of Agriculture, the Secretary to which will furnish inquirers with all necessary information.

† See also below (p. 9) as to power of parish council to build cottages on allotments.

hurst (Kent, pop. 1,678), and this was due to the energy of a lady councillor (Miss Jane Escombe). Beginning in 1895, it was not until 1897 that she managed to get a county council inquiry; and it took over two years more to get over all the official and other difficulties. But in November, 1899, a site of three-quarters of an acre was purchased from the clergyman for £130; and twelve months later the cottages, six in number (with six rooms each), were completed at a cost of £501 for each pair, covered by a loan of £1,800 at three and a half per cent., repayable in 40 years. At five shillings per week the receipts amount to £78, and the annual charge for interest and repayment is £74 9s. 6d.

Eight more cottages have since been built on leasehold land at a cost of £1,850, and are let at rents from four shillings to 4s. 9d. per week. The loan is repayable in 40 years, and the rate of interest is three and a half per cent.

Bradwell (Maldon R. D. C., Essex). Six cottages have been built, at a total cost of £1,450 inclusive, on an acre of land costing £45. There are on the ground floor parlor, living room, and kitchen eight feet high; and on the first floor three bedrooms eight feet six inches high. They are let at 3s. 6d. each per week. The loans were £1,250 at three and three quarters per cent., and £200 at four and a quarter per cent.

Bratton (Westbury, Wilts). Four houses have been built, at a cost of £887, on land costing £30 for 32 perches (at the rate of £150 per acre), or a whole cost, with architect's fees, etc., of £970. Each house has two rooms and scullery on the ground floor, and three bedrooms on the first floor, and is let at 3s. 6d. per week, tenant paying rates.

Linton (Cambridgeshire). Application was made by this council to the county council on behalf of five parishes in the district, but the others are standing over until Linton has gone through. It is hoped to build for £130 per cottage, then let at 2s. 6d. per week. Land cost £125 for two acres. A loan of £1,500, repayable in 67 years, has been sanctioned by the Local Government Board.

Malpas (Cheshire). A loan of £2,500 was obtained for sixty years, and twelve cottages provided at an estimated annual cost to the rates of £11 per annum on an assessable value of £4,891. Only part of the land has been used, and a rent of four pounds per annum is being derived from the unbuilt portion.

Limpsfield (Surrey, pop. 1,911) is another place which has been very active. In 1901 the parish council found the cottage accommodation in the village to be insufficient and, after very careful inquiry, representations were made to the principal landowner in the matter, with the result that he promised to build immediately twelve additional cottages as an experiment. In 1906 it was found that there was still a scarcity of cottages, and it was proposed that a special report on the matter should be laid before the rural district council. Eventually the parish meeting decided that the work had better be done by voluntary effort, and a building company was formed for the purpose. No difficulty was found in raising the

money, and cottages, which are already begun, will be let at a low rental, paying a small fixed charge by way of interest on the capital outlay.

In Ireland much more has been done than in England. There are now over 15,000 cottages in Irish rural districts, built, owned and let out to tenants by the local public authority.

Lastly, it is important to remember how the Small Holdings Act, 1907, has changed the law as regards building in connection with allotments. Formerly the rural district council could improve and adapt land acquired by it for allotments. Now these powers have not only been transferred to the parish council, but they have been considerably increased by the fact that the parish council is allowed to erect buildings on the allotments which it holds. A parish council may, if it think fit, put up a cottage on any of its allotments which is not less than one acre in extent.

Recreation Grounds.

Many parish councils have secured useful recreation grounds for their villages. Sometimes these have been given free. At Titchfield (Hampshire) five acres have been given; at Nacton (Suffolk) one acre; at Westbury (Wilts.) half an acre. The parish council of Aldenham (Herts., pop. 2,487) had given it half an acre with gymnastic appliances; and has been offered another four acres for a public park. At Mayfield (Staffs.) the inhabitants themselves presented the parish council with one acre for this purpose. In other villages, land has been let to the parish council at a nominal rent, such as a shilling a year. At Roade (Northamptonshire, pop. 691) the parish council has thus secured a recreation ground of half an acre; at Calverton (Notts.) one of two acres; at Bramcote, in the same county, one of four acres; at Harrow Weald (Middlesex) as much as five-and-three-quarter acres; whilst on the other hand the parish council of St. Margaret-at-Cliffe (Kent), having been given a zigzag footpath up the cliff, has got the use for sixpence a year of sufficient land to put seats on. Less fortunate villages have had to rent land for recreation grounds. The parish council of Aston Tirrold (Berks., pop. 289) hires two acres, whilst that of Twyford (pop. 1,106) in the same county, hires ten acres; Wymondham (Norfolk) is content with half an acre, and Clifton (Lancs.) with three-quarters of an acre, whilst Naseby (Northamptonshire) hires 11 acres. Many parish councils (for instance, that of Great and Little Hampton, Worcestershire) have improved the village greens, so as to make them fit places for the children to play on. The parish council of Barrowden (Rutland) has hired seven acres specifically for a cricket ground; that of Norton-under-Hamdon (Somerset) one-and-a-half acres for a children's playground, whilst Barford Parish Council (Warwickshire) went in for five-and-a-half acres for this purpose. Northolt Parish Council (Middlesex) has got one-and-a-quarter acres of land for a village green at a nominal rent of five shillings a year. Sometimes much larger areas are hired by parish councils for the combined purpose of recreation grounds and common grazing. Thus Aberffraw, in Anglesey, rents by its parish council

16 acres; Whittington, in Worcestershire, 20 acres; Chigwell, in Essex, 49 acres; Pelsall, in Staffordshire, as much as 55 acres.

A few parish councils have purchased land for recreation grounds; thus Chulmleigh (Devon) has bought a little ornamental garden of four poles extent; Horndon-on-the-Hill (Essex) has bought one-and-a-half acres; Forest Row (East Sussex) four acres; Horsepath (Oxfordshire) four acres; Wattisfield (West Suffolk) four-and-three-quarter acres; and Ropley (Hants.) as much as seven acres, part of which it devotes to allotments. In such cases the parish council borrows the money to pay for the land. Thus Burwell (Cambridgeshire) borrowed £346 to buy some recreation ground; Willingham, in the same county, £500; Cuddesdon, in Oxfordshire, £160; Winterslow (Wilts) £250; and Caterham, in Surrey, as much as £2,700—all for recreation grounds. Here again the parish council may make bye-laws, which will be confirmed by the Local Government Board, for the regulation of its recreation ground. In 1905-6 and 1906-7 the Board has confirmed such bye-laws made by various councils—Potten (Bedfordshire), Tiverton (Somerset), Willingham (Cambridgeshire), South Normanton (Derbyshire), Combe Martin (Devon), Aldenham (Herts.), Frensham (Surrey), etc.

Public Wharf.

At Acle (Norfolk) a small piece of land by the river, forming a sort of wharf, is rented from the lord of the manor, in order that the inhabitants may have the free right to load and unload boats, independently of the riparian owners and occupiers.

Drying Ground.

At Cummersdale (Cumberland, pop. 615) the inhabitants felt the want of a drying ground, and the parish council rented half an acre of land for common use.

Burial Grounds.

When the parish churchyard gets full, or is too far off from part of the parish, it is a great convenience for the parish to be able to get a new burial ground. This has been done by nearly 700 parish councils. Occasionally the parish council has been able to get the land for nothing, on proving that it was really needed, as at Steeton-with-Eastburn (West Riding of Yorkshire), where the chairman of the parish council presented the council with one-and-a-half acres. In some cases the land has to be hired on a long lease; the parish council of Brisley (Norfolk) has thus rented half an acre. But nearly always the parish council has bought the freehold, obtaining a loan for the purpose. Sometimes, as at Isleham (Cambridge), all that is obtained is an additional half-acre beside the churchyard. At other times much more is bought; the parish council of Dolwyddelan (pop. 1,112), in Carnarvonshire, has purchased nearly eight acres. In a few cases where the landowner could not be induced to sell the necessary land adjoining or near the churchyard, the parish council prevailed on the rural district council to take it compulsorily.

These purchases are made by means of loans. Thus the Curston Parish Council (Norfolk, pop. 986) borrowed £340 to buy land for a new burial place; the Hauxley Parish Council (Northumberland, pop. 1,627) borrowed £381; and the Rainham Parish Council (Essex, pop. 1,725) borrowed £400. In 1905-6 the Local Government Board sanctioned loans amounting altogether to £7,478, and in 1906-7 £6,765 to parish councils for burial grounds.

Mortuary.

The Parish Council of Clifton, a mining village in Lancashire (pop. 3,000), by setting aside a stable at the back of the council offices, has provided a mortuary for common use.

Parish Land Recovered.

Many small pieces of land belonging to the public at large have been "lost" in years gone by for want of anyone to stand up for the public rights. Parish councils have been examining the Enclosure Awards, Tithing Awards, and Lists of Charities for their parishes, and some of this "lost" land has been recovered. For instance, the Askern Parish Council (West Riding of Yorkshire) is now in possession of half an acre of land, including a useful quarry, which had been duly awarded to the parish years ago, but had been quietly usurped by the neighboring landowner. When the village got a parish council to assert the public rights, the present landowner consented to restore the half-acre in question. At Shirland (Derbyshire) the parish council compelled a landowner to disgorge a small strip of land by the high road which he had annexed. The parish council now receives a small annual rent for its use. The Hurley Parish Council (Berkshire) found that the lord of the manor had for years been allowing people, now and then, to enclose bits of the common land, on condition that they paid him a small quit rent. The council complained, and this filching of the public rights has been stopped. At St. Budeaux (Devonshire) the Government had appropriated the village green under some plea or another, but the parish council has now obtained possession of this half-acre, hiring it from the War Office at the nominal rent of a shilling a year. At Pilton (Somerset) the parish council got the lord of the manor to transfer to them free of cost the site of the old parish pound, to be planted with trees and shrubs. At Long Preston (West Riding of Yorkshire) the lord of the manor has transferred the village greens to the parish council free of charge; and at Thundersley (Essex) the same is being done with regard to a large common. Many other village greens, the legal ownership of which has become vested in the lord of the manor, have been let to parish councils at a shilling, or some other nominal rent, so that the people might have a legal right to the use and management of them. By the activity of parish councils many commons and greens have been protected against encroachments and appropriation. Thus at Cellan, in Cardiganshire, the parish council had the common accurately measured, and the public ownership put on record. The Parish Council of Send and Ripley (Surrey, pop.

2,301) has made byelaws regulating the use of its village green and other open spaces. This should be done by every parish council which can prove its title to the green.

The green strips by the side of the high roads are public property, and ought never to be enclosed. In the past many thousands of these pieces of land have been quietly stolen by the neighboring landowners. Now it is the duty of the parish council to watch them, and the duty of the county council to protect them. Many encroachments have been thus stopped. The Parish Council of St. Bride's Major (Glamorgan., pop. 686) successfully fought the Earl of Dunraven, who had tried to make a big encroachment.

Parish Halls or Rooms.

Many parish councils have acquired or built convenient public rooms for the village to meet in, and offices for the parish business. At Charing (Kent) the parish council bought 10 poles of freehold land and built a hall, getting a loan of £286 for the purpose. The Boarhunt Parish Council (Hampshire) did the same thing. Compton (Hants.) bought three-quarters of an acre and built a hall; Hessle, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, half an acre for the same purpose. Dysarth (Flintshire) borrowed £88, and West End (Southampton) £450. The Parish Council of Hawkehurst (Kent) borrowed £625 to build its parish hall, which includes offices for the parish business. But a suitable room can be put up for much less. The Parish Council of Trefriew (Carnarvonshire) only had to borrow £114 to pay for its parish room; and the Parish Council of Underskiddaw (Cumberland) only required £150 for the same purpose. The Parish Council of Bovey Tracey (Devonshire) borrowed £400 to provide themselves with a "town hall," but South Stoke (Oxfordshire) was contented with spending £50, and Gunthorpe (Nottinghamshire) with spending £120 on their "parish rooms." At Cheddar (Somerset) the parish council bought a house with a quarter of an acre of garden, and converted it into a public hall and parish offices. This cost about £300, which the parish borrowed for a term of 30 years, during which it will pay interest and sinking fund, and after that will have the house and building free of charge. The Parish Council of Clifton (Lancs., pop. 3,000) bought two cottages for £500, and uses one for the parish offices, while the other is let to a tenant.

Schools.

Parish councils have no direct authority over the schools, but by means of the school manager whom they elect, or by making representations of their needs to the proper authority, they may add materially to the welfare of the scholars. A school manager appointed by the parish council should be required to give a report to the parish council of what has passed at the education committee. The report would, of course, be confined to such matters as are of public interest and not confidential. Another matter in which a parish council might usefully bestir itself would be to urge the county council to provide facilities for technical education in the

village. The Parish Council of Yarm (Yorkshire) secured for their village the services of an excellent horticultural lecturer from the North Riding County Council as a result of which a very promising horticultural society has been established there.

The Preston-on-Tees Parish Council (Durham, pop. 800) finding that the distance from the homes of many scholars to the existing school was too great to allow of their attending regularly, made representations to the Durham County Council, and a new school was started for the children in the outlying parts of the parish. At Limpsfield (Surrey) the school manager appointed by the parish council personally started a canteen, which fed 60 children who came from a distance at a charge of one penny each per day. The plan has been continued for a second season.

Charities.

In many parishes the parish council has reformed the charities by appointing some of its own members as trustees. Sometimes, as at Burley-in-Wharfedale (Yorkshire), the rents of parish land or cottages have simply been taken by the overseers in aid of the poor rate (and so helped to pay the rates of the squire, the parson, the inkeeper, etc.!). This was promptly stopped, and the money given to the deserving poor. Then the poor were no longer compelled to come up publicly to claim their doles, but arrangements were made for paying them quietly in their own cottages.

Sanitation.

It is, properly speaking, the business of the rural district council and the county council to see that every parish is in a proper sanitary condition; that every cottage has a good supply of pure water; that no stinking ponds, foul ditches, or other nuisances pollute the air or water; and that every cottage has decent sanitary conveniences. The parish council can, however, itself attend to small matters. At Marske-by-the-Sea (Yorkshire) the sanitation left much to be desired. An expert, who was called in, prepared an elaborate scheme; but the parish council found it too expensive, and so set themselves to remedy matters by giving a thorough attention to the sewers and sewage outlets, disconnecting of all rain-pipes from the drains, and so on. But, generally speaking, where the parish council comes in is in the power of making complaints to the rural district council, without any man running the risk of displeasing his landlord or his employer. Many parish councils have successfully used this power. They have pestered the rural district council with complaint after complaint, until the nuisances have been done away with. In Hurley (Berks.) the parish council found some of the cottages without any proper water supply, and using an infected source. It complained to the district council, got this source analysed and condemned, and compelled the cottage owners to provide a better supply. Sometimes the parish council has had to appeal to the county council, which has stirred up the district council and made it move. Where the county council has a medical officer (as every county council ought to have), the parish

councils have found it very useful to send him their complaints, and to get him to inspect the parish. If neither the district council nor the county council will help the parish, then the parish council can appeal to the Local Government Board in London. The Parish Councils of Threapwood (Cheshire, pop. 305) and Hildenborough (Kent, pop. 1,407) complained to their district councils time after time about the unhealthy state of their parishes, owing to the bad arrangements for drainage. Finally they appealed to the Local Government Board in London, and the district councils have been told that they must provide proper drainage for these villages. The village of Holcot (Northamptonshire, pop. 343) was always suffering from bad illnesses because there was no drainage. When the parish council complained to the Local Government Board, the district council was ordered to put the village into a sanitary state at once.

In 1905 there was a complaint against the rural district council of Dunmow that the want of a proper water supply in the village of Felstead was injuriously affecting the health of the inhabitants. The Local Government Board directed a local inquiry to be held, and eventually issued an order requiring the district council to carry out their duty within six months. The district council, however, did not comply with the order, and so in August, 1907, a mandamus was obtained from the High Court of Justice to compel them to do so.

In many parishes the parish council has itself dealt with small nuisances, and got them stopped. At Clifton (Beds.) the village suffered from a filthy pond, illegally polluted by drains and itself polluting an open ditch. To put this right meant an expense of £50 or more, and no one could tackle it. When the parish council was established it took up the job, cleaned out the pond, stopped the drainage into it, and scoured the ditches. It cost for one year a special rate of 4½d. in the £, but it improved the health of the village. The Mundesley Parish Council (Norfolk) has hired half an acre of land as a dumping ground for parish refuse. The parish council of Chesterton (Staffordshire) has done well in getting a sewage farm of its own of 140 acres.

Water Supply.

Although the provision of a new water supply on a large scale is a matter, not for the parish, but for the rural district council, the parish council has power to improve any existing supply within the parish. This power has been exercised in many hundreds of parishes, to the extent of making small but extremely useful improvements. Thus the parish council of Great Stambidge (Essex) found that the village badly needed better water. It obtained as a free gift from the landowner a few square yards of land, on which a well was sunk, a pump and horse-trough erected, and the whole covered by a neat roof. Kilmington (Wilts.) wanted a new parish pump; one pole of freehold land was given free of charge by the owner to the parish council, and a pump erected for the use of the public for ever. At St. Tudy (Cornwall) the parish council had the drinking water

analysed, and, finding it unsatisfactory, got the supply improved and increased. At Gaydon (Warwickshire) the parish council was given a good supply of water, so that it should be for ever maintained in good order for the village. The parish council of Humshaugh (Northumberland) has bought the freehold of a small piece of land, one pole in area, so as to secure for ever a public watering place. The Churchstanton Parish Council (Devon) successfully asserted the public right to certain springs of pure water, and laid down pipes to supply the neighbors. At Thundersley (Essex) there is a good water supply, but the owners of some cottages neglected to lay it on to them. The parish council took the matter up and compelled them to do their duty. But the best work of that parish council was its standing up to a village tyrant. A local landowner filled up and destroyed an ancient spring, which the public had used from time immemorial, and put up barbed wire and tar to prevent the cottagers approaching it, whilst the county policeman was sent round to frighten them. The parish council raised a subscription to fight the case, and by an action in the Court of Queen's Bench (*Reynolds v. Lincoln*) in May, 1899, compelled the landowner to clear out and re-brick the spring, and remove all obstructions to the public use of it. The Ashton Parish Council (Northamptonshire) had an instructive experience. When the churchyard was enlarged, it became necessary to divert an old line of pipes supplying water from a spring to the village well, and the clergyman took upon himself to run the supply to his own house, allowing the village only the overflow from his tank. The parish council (which consisted of a grocer, a gardener, a platelayer, a signalman and a carpenter) then took steps to protect the village, and commenced to put down pipes connecting directly the well with the spring. Thereupon the steward to the local landowner (Duke of Grafton) came down on the parish council, and declared that the pipes, and even the water, belonged to the duke, because it ran under the public high road. At first he tried to stop the work; then he claimed the ownership of the new pipes which the parish council was paying for; at last he offered that the duke should pay the expense, but said he must own the pipes. The parish council stood firm, and said that the parish was determined to possess its own water supply, which they and their forefathers had enjoyed from time immemorial. Finally, the duke, by his steward, made an awful threat. He would appeal to the Government Auditor, and get the amount "surcharged," upon which, as his agent explained, those parish councillors who had ordered the expenditure would have to pay it out of their own pockets. He actually tried to carry out this threat, but his agent fortunately mistook the day, and appeared twenty-four hours too late. So the parish council triumphed, and now enjoys its own good and abundant water supply. This happy result was largely due to the wisdom of the parish council in engaging a good man as clerk. Instead of getting their work done for nothing, and having it done badly, the council pays a salary of £6 a year, and shares with two other parish councils the services of a competent officer.

Public Lamps and Lighting.

Upwards of a thousand parishes have adopted the Lighting and Watching Acts, which enable the parish council to put up lamps and light the village streets and roads at night. The Parish Council of Elmswell (West Suffolk) is one of those that have done this; that of Menstone (West Riding of Yorkshire) is another (it borrowed £200 to pay for the lamps, and did the thing handsomely). The Parish Council of Treeton (also in the West Riding of Yorkshire) spent £140 on public lighting at starting; and Brampton (Cumberland) borrowed £100 for this purpose, and Seaton Delaval (Northumberland) £138. But usually much smaller sums suffice. The annual expense of lighting is paid for by a separate lighting rate on the parish, which is usually only a half penny or a penny in the pound. The Lighting and Watching Act involves a separate rate and a somewhat cumbrous procedure. Other parishes have asked the Local Government Board to confer on the rural district council the power to light the village; and then got the rural district council to delegate this power to a parochial committee.

Assessments and the Parish Finances.

Some parish councils, like that of Bradfield St. George (Suffolk, pop. 417) have formally adopted section 3 of the Poor Rate Assessment and Collection Act, 1869, and so made the owners of all cottage property themselves pay the rates. This is found a boon to the poor.

Before the parish council came into existence there was very often no one to see that the churchwardens and overseers did their work fairly as to the assessment of property and the collection of rates. When the parish of Penalt (Monmouthshire) got a parish council, it was discovered that some houses had for years been left out of the assessment, so that the owners of them escaped their share of the rates; and that a large balance was owing to the parish by a former overseer. The parish council insisted on this being made right, and so saved the parish in one year more than the whole amount of its expenditure since that time. At Barford (Warwickshire, pop. 689) the parish council found that the three great houses of the parish were scandalously under-assessed, and got them put up by £200. This at once reduced the rates by a penny in the pound.

At Blackshaw (West Riding of Yorkshire) the parish council thought that the parish was unfairly treated by the county council in being assessed at too high a sum towards the county rate. The parish council twice appealed against the county rate basis, and was successful in getting it considerably reduced, saving the ratepayers of the parish a large sum annually. Similarly, when the neighboring town of Todmorden became a municipal borough, it strove to put upon Blackshaw parish the maintenance of some roads which were in a bad state of repair. The parish council stood up for its rights and got compensation for the parish.

Markets.

Some parish councils manage little markets or annual fairs, and take the profits in aid of the rates. At Bawtry, in Yorkshire, the parish council rents the market place from the lord of the manor, and receives the market tolls. At Bardney, in Lincolnshire, the parish council maintains the village green and, with the consent of the lord of the manor, lets it out on the occasion of the annual fair, and uses the rents for parish purposes.

Roads, Paths, and Bridges.

Many parishes have, through their parish councils, got their footpaths and little bridges put in order, and sometimes new ones made. Thus, quite small parishes, such as Welford (Berkshire, pop. 791) have gravelled their footpaths and repaired their footbridges, so that the children can go to school without getting their feet wet. The Parish Council of Snape (Suffolk, pop. 529) finds it convenient to have its own gravel-pit for footpath repair, and so rents a quarter of an acre of land and digs its own gravel instead of buying it. The Parish Council of Orrell-with-Ford (Lancs., pop. 2,104) is properly proud of having "name-plated all the roads, finger-posted all the footpaths, and twice cleaned out the boundary brook." The Parish Council of St. Tudy (Cornwall, pop. 495) agitated for and got built a new footbridge over the river; and the Parish Council of Clifton (Lancs.) has put several footbridges over streams and over the railway. The Parish Council of Weston Turville (Bucks.) took in hand a dangerous corner of a road, and bought a strip of garden to widen the highway. The West Mill Parish Council (Herts.) fenced the road off from a bog with white-painted posts. At Timperley, in Cheshire, there was a footpath leading to a level crossing over the railway. This was a cause of serious danger and occasional accidents. As it proved to be impossible to get a railway bridge, the parish council made an exchange of land and diverted the footpath so as to obviate the dangerous crossing. At Newstead (Nottinghamshire) a new road was needed, and the parish council has rented altogether five acres of land in order to lay this out. Lower Dylais (Glamorganshire) wanted a new footpath and made it, formally hiring the narrow strip of land on a long lease. Whitwell (Derbyshire) was in the same case, but was able to hire the strip at a nominal sum. The Parish Council of Blaenpenal (Cardiganshire) made a new cartway, but was able to buy the freehold of the little bit of land required. At Ockbrook (Derbyshire) the parish council devoted its attention to improving the streets and highways. It adopted the Lighting Act and erected lamps (rate threepence in pound for this), gave names to the roads and streets and put up name-boards, made up and repaired the footways and approaches, and removed nuisances.

Motor Cars.

Many villages suffer very serious inconvenience and danger from careless and "scorching" motorists. Every parish council should petition the county council, as the Limpsfield Parish Council (Surrey)

has done, through the district council to get the Local Government Board to enforce the limit of ten miles an hour in dangerous parts of the roads. And the county council itself, without the intervention of the Local Government Board, ought to put up sign-posts at all dangerous corners, cross-roads and steep hills.

Fire Protection.

More than 500 parish councils have taken steps to protect their villages against serious fires. Sometimes, as in the cases of half-a-dozen parishes near Bedford, the councils subscribe towards an efficient fire brigade maintained by a neighboring town. More usually, the parish council organizes a volunteer fire brigade of its own, and provides appliances. At Tempsford (Beds., pop. 434) the parish council pays the engineer's salary; at Burnham (Bucks., pop., 3,245) the men are paid for drills; elsewhere, as at Malpas (Cheshire, pop. 1,139), the men are paid for attendance at fires. At Flimby (Cumberland, pop. 2,482) the members of the parish council themselves act as a fire brigade. Other parishes have borrowed money for fire brigade purposes. Thus Walgrave (Northampton) borrowed £60, Easton (Northampton) £100, and Bishopstone (Wilts) £70 for fire engines, etc.; Dagenham (Essex) £378 for fire extinguishing appliances; and Hornchurch (Essex) £368 for engine house and appliances.

Railway, Post, and Telegraph Facilities.

Many parish councils have succeeded in getting better service from the Post Office. Thus the Parish Council of Broadhempston (Devon, pop. 445) got a second, or evening, postal delivery; that of Hadley (Salop) got several additional pillar boxes and an afternoon postal delivery; that of Churchstanton (Somerset, pop. 581) obtained a money order office; those of East Claydon (Bucks.) and Elwick (Durham) have given a guarantee against loss and so secured a telegraph office. Newick (Sussex, pop. 953) and Eaglescliffe and Preston-on-Tees (Durham) got better train services from the railway companies; St. Bride's Major (Glamorgan, pop. 686) made the company put up bridges and stiles; while the Parish Council of Clifton (Lancashire) got the railway company to replace a level crossing by a footbridge.

Libraries and Reading Rooms.

In many villages a reading room is now maintained by the generosity of the clergyman or the squire. Often these are just what the village desires, but sometimes they are not. In one parish reading room in Surrey no Liberal or Radical newspaper is allowed. In one Sussex parish the clergyman gave his copy of the *Times*, but refused to let the *Daily News* be presented, on the ground that it was a "party organ"! But in a few parishes the parish council now maintains a free public library and reading room, where the inhabitants can read just what books and newspapers they please, without being beholden to anyone. At Corwen (Merionethshire, pop. 2,723) the library was opened in 1896; it has a newsroom open 78 hours a

week, and 250 books ; it pays its librarian nine pounds a year ; costs altogether £80 a year ; and is managed by a committee of six parish councillors and six others, whom the parish council co-opts. Halkyn (Flint., pop. 1,389) opened its library in 1898 ; already has 700 books and a newsroom open 72 hours a week ; pays its librarian £25 a year ; and co-opts four persons to serve with five parish councillors as its library committee, which has an income of £63. Sometimes, as at Colwall (Hereford, pop. 1,892), the parish council gets a library building provided by private endowment. What can be done by a tiny village is shown at East and Botolph Claydon (Bucks., pop. 336) where a library was opened by the parish council in 1897, which now contains over 600 books. The squire has built and placed at the disposal of the council, at a nominal rent, a parish hall, reading room, library, and caretaker's rooms. The library work is done gratuitously by a lady, who attends every Saturday afternoon. In the neighboring parishes of Middle Claydon, Grandborough, and Water Eaton (Bucks., pop. of each between 200 and 300), a joint library is maintained by the three parish councils, largely through the help of Sir Edmund Verney, whose daughter gives her services as librarian. It is open 18 hours a week, and contains over 2,300 volumes, with a printed catalogue. The management is by a committee of five parish councillors ; and the total cost is about £18 a year, of which only £10 comes from the rates. In all these cases the parish council levies the full library rate of one penny in the pound, and ekes this out with such receipts as sales of old newspapers, fines, and subscriptions.

Bathing Places.

A score of parishes have adopted the Baths and Washhouses Acts, and now provide swimming baths. Sometimes, as at Betchworth (Surrey, pop. 1,789) and Alveston (Warwick) the parish council has merely put up sheds, screens and platforms, so as to enable the river to be used in comfort, and made regulations, confirmed by the Local Government Board, as to the times for women and men respectively. At Ibstock (Leicester, pop. 3,922) the parish council built a bathing tank 6ft. deep, with corrugated iron fences ; costing £90 ; supplied with water from the brook ; and looked after by an old man at 7/6 a week. A penny is charged for admission, or two shillings for a season ticket. But the most successful bath seems to be that at Snitterfield (Warwick, pop. 727). Here an old brick tank, 70ft. by 30ft., that had been long unused, was obtained by the parish council on lease from Lady Trevelyan at a nominal rental. The council spent £40 in putting it in order, fencing it round with tarred matchboarding, and providing a comfortable dressing-room and diving-pier. The water is supplied by a spring and is constantly changed. The bath is open free five days a week, certain hours being set apart for women and girls. One hour a week may be reserved on the sixth day by season ticket holders paying a small subscription. The nearest cottager and his wife act as caretakers for 30s. a year, and the total annual cost is only about £5. The vicar has gratuitously taught the boys to swim. He offered to teach the girls if the

parish council would provide bathing dresses for them, but the council (consisting of a "gentleman," a doctor, a farmer, and two hurdlers) declined to do so (though bathing dresses are provided out of the rates in London baths). During the summer 30 or 40 persons use the tank daily. Many children bathe regularly every noon; and the bath is highly appreciated by the parish. Swimming baths have also been established by the parish councils of Snodland (Kent, pop. 4,136), Shere (Surrey, pop. 2,184); and Blaby parish council (Leicestershire, pop. 1,842) hires a few square yards of land for a bathing station.

It is to be regretted that so few parishes have yet followed these examples. The whole capital cost of a good open-air bath need not be incurred at once. The bath may be made one year, cemented the next, enclosed the next, and so on. The annual cost of maintenance need only be trifling.

No parish council seems yet to have provided hot-water baths for individual use, though these would be a great boon to every mining village. Nor has any parish council had the enterprise to provide a laundry for public use, in spite of the great success in London and elsewhere of this convenience to small households.

Some Typical Parishes.

The following account of the work of the parish council in four separate parishes in different parts of England, shows what has actually been done.

KINGSTEIGNTON (DEVONSHIRE).

Population in 1901, 1,942. Area, 3,975 acres. Number of parochial electors, 370.
Rateable value, £14,280.

This parish has throughout taken considerable interest in its parish council elections. The council has had from the first a Liberal majority, about evenly divided between Church and Dissent; but the elections have turned more on "village politics" and personal preferences, than on Imperial politics or religion. The council (13) now consists of one clergyman, three farmers, two schoolmasters, two builders, one mine-owner, one shopkeeper, and three wage-earners. The council has appointed trustees of the charities, and set on foot inquiries about them which have done good; it has regularized the assessments; it has preserved one footpath from a threatened encroachment; it obtained the tithe-map from the vicar and transferred it to its own custody; it hired two fields, comprising five-and-a-quarter acres, and let them out in 33 allotments; it moved the district council to provide a new water supply for the parish at a cost of £2,000, and built a new reservoir capable of holding 85,000 gallons and costing £1,800, which (though hotly opposed) is now appreciated and used by nearly all the parish; it has organized a parish fire brigade, providing £50 worth of fire-hose and other appliances; it has obtained from the district council its own appointment as a parochial committee for sanitary purposes, and has got nuisances stopped; it has cleaned out the village leet (or water course) which was in a dangerous state; it has repeatedly moved the district council

to improve the drainage, obtaining more frequent flushing of sewers and good ventilating shafts, and causing steps to be taken to prevent floodings and storm damage. It owns three houses, bringing in a small sum towards the expenses, which are rigorously kept down. It has a division under the Newton Abbot Corps of the St. John's Ambulance Brigade, with full uniform and equipment for dealing with accidents and removal to hospital. It has taken gas from Newton Abbot for street lighting purposes, and is without doubt the best lit village in the country.

AYLESFORD (KENT).

Population in 1901, 2,678. Area, 4,057 acres. Number of parochial electors, about 550. Rateable value, about £15,981.

In this parish (which includes two villages, one old and proprietary, the other modern and manufacturing) there has never been any active fighting in the elections; and though the meetings have been well attended, they have lately not been seriously contested. The parish council has always been elected by show of hands without a poll, and only once has any old member been rejected. The council (12) now consists of a sand merchant, a manager and assistant manager of a cement works, two doctors, two grocers, the cashier and secretary of a brickworks, a lime merchant, a farmer, and an engineer; mostly Conservative in politics; partly Church, partly Dissent. The council has done useful work with regard to the charities, putting representatives on the board of some important almshouses. It has stopped at least one job, by which it was proposed to reduce to a nominal sum the rent paid for a way-leave. The council appealed to the Charity Commissioners against it, and got a substantial rent fixed. It has encouraged revision of the assessments, and got raised those (especially of licensed houses) that were too low. It has prevented unwarranted diversions of public footpaths, even when desired by the dominant landowner. It has increased an already considerable supply of allotments by hiring three and a half acres, let to 40 tenants. It has obtained two recreation grounds, one of three and one of nine acres. It negotiated with a neighboring water company, and got considerably better terms of supply. It has provided fire hydrants. It has greatly improved and extended the lighting of the village by gas lamps. It helps the county council to provide the parish with technical classes every winter. It has an excellent sewage arrangement, which cost nearly £20,000. The expenditure (other than that for lighting) is covered every year by a penny rate, except in the year that the recreation grounds were laid out, when it amounted to threepence in the pound.

HORSFORD (NORFOLK), ST. FAITH'S UNION.

Population in 1901, 691. Area, 4,249 acres. Number of parochial electors, 151. Rateable value £2,560.

This is a good sample of a purely rural parish, where the parish council, though not brilliantly successful, has been of real advantage. The first election (1894) excited great interest, and there was a fierce

contest and a poll. An active Radical majority was elected, which got some things done, but found more difficulties than it expected. The next three elections were decided by show of hands, and Conservative majorities were elected. Later on, in the same way, eight Liberals and one Conservative were elected, and these have gone steadily to work in a quieter way than the first council. The councillors long included four tenant farmers, three farm laborers, one brickfield laborer, and one agent (a townsman). The council, since 1894, has secured a useful footpath against possible diversion; hired eight acres of land for allotments; got the county council to hold a public inquiry into the overcrowded state of the village and need for more cottages—the inquiry attracted so much attention that the worst evils got remedied—obtained a letter-box where needed from the Post Office, and got a savings bank branch opened in the parish, by guaranteeing the cost; stirred up the district council about a wet and dirty lane which had never been repaired within living memory—this caused the landowners to remedy their neglect. Perhaps the most striking result has been the care of the parish land. These 208 acres of heath had been neglected for years, and the neighboring landowners and occupiers were quietly establishing a right of way across it. The parish council elected trustees to manage this charity, and these fenced in its land from the road, enclosed and drained eight acres, which are now let for grazing; and, after a hot discussion with the squire, maintained its fence against his claim to a right of way. The district council now owns and lets the shooting on the watering pits, gravel pits, and other odds and ends of land belonging to the parish under an Enclosure Award of 1810; and the rent is credited to the parish for the maintenance of roads. When land is wanted for allotments, the landowners are quite willing to let it to the parish council. But the real value of the parish council here is much more its intangible results on the village life and character. All classes are brought together to discuss their common business, and the laborers have been taught to look the squire and the parson in the face, and to realize that the best men of their own class make as good and trustworthy councillors as landlords and farmers. "Everyone," it is now said, "has become independent." They know that any real grievance in the village can now be remedied, and the council serves as a vent-hole for complaints and suspicions that would otherwise have smouldered dangerously for years.

NEWICK (SUSSEX).

Population in 1901, 953. Area, 1,977 acres. Number of parochial electors, 200. Rateable value, £4,876.

One grave defect of the parish council, as it is usually administered, is its failure to attract any public interest. It is not enough to put up a notice on the church door. It is better to do as the Parish Council of Orrell-with-Ford (Lancs., pop. 2,104) has done, viz., to meet regularly every six weeks on fixed dates. The lack of public interest is partly due to the neglect of the councils to let the parish know what they are doing. An admirable example to the

contrary is seen at Newick (Sussex), where the parish council presents an annual report, which is printed in the local newspaper. As the report for 1899-1900 gives a vision of the work of an active parish council, it is here printed in full.

ALLOTMENTS.—The committee have now a prospect of securing land and having nearly completed their proposals, the council hope shortly to have before them a definite and complete scheme.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.—Copies of further Acts of Parliament have been added.

BUILDING BYE-LAWS.—In view of the continued construction of insanitary dwellings in the parish, the council have urged on the authorities the necessity of enacting building bye-laws for this district. The response has not been favorable, but, looking at the importance of this question, the council will probably feel it their duty to press it further.

CHARITIES.—The council having inquired as to the existence of any parochial charities, have received from the Commissioners an opinion that there are none, but further inquiries remain to be made.

DISTRICT ROADS.—The council, having persevered in their former course, find that there has been some improvement. They have also obtained from the highway authority an undertaking to repair the Rough, which has, however, not yet been acted on. The council have resolved not to apply for powers over the district roads under section 15 Local Government Act, 1894, but unless such roads are better managed in future to seek to obtain the transference of such management to the county council under section 16 of the above Act, or otherwise.

EDUCATION.—Two classes for women and girls under the county council have been carried out by Mrs. Gravely with satisfactory results. It remains to arrange technical or other classes for men and boys, and the organizing secretary (Mr. Young) has consented to address a public meeting shortly to that end.

FINANCE.—Considerable progress has been made. All payments under the authority of the council, whether of accounts or of extra remuneration to officials, have been systematically examined by the finance committee, who have also ascertained the causes of the rise in the poor rate in May, 1898. They have also established the right of ratepayers to examine the district council minute book. The drainage committee have partly explained the heavy special drainage rate and will further report thereon.

FIRE BRIGADE.—An ineffectual communication was made to the Bonfire Boys' Society. It remains to decide whether to repeat that communication next year or what other attempt to make, if any. Inquiries should be made of those parishes who have already successfully completed their arrangements.

FOOTPATHS.—The committee have collected much information as to the history of the more important footpaths with a view to determining the liability for their repair. They are waiting legal advice as to preserving the testimony they have collected. Meanwhile no further expense has been incurred.

ISOLATION HOSPITAL.—The council have supported an application to the authorities for an isolation hospital for the district, which is likely to be acted on.

PARISH DOCUMENTS.—The committee was re-appointed but have been unable to proceed for want of the required directions from the county council, whose attention will probably have to be recalled to the subject.

POSTAL FACILITIES.—The council have secured from the General Post Office the promise of a new pillar-box at Cornwell's Bank for outgoing letters. An application for the despatch on Sundays of letters posted at the railway station was not granted.

REPRESENTATION ON DISTRICT COUNCIL AND BOARD OF GUARDIANS.—The memorial presented by the council in 1898 has resulted, not in an increased representation for Newick, but in a proportionate increase in rural representation on the board of guardians at the expense of urban.

SEWAGE.—The committee appointed by the council have devoted much attention to this subject, and have furnished the council with considerable information. There has been some alteration in the methods of the sanitary authority in providing super-

vision and in cultivating the irrigation area. It remains to ascertain how far the present methods are adequate for the improvement of the drains or the relief of the ratepayers.

STEAM ENGINES ON HIGHWAYS.—The county council have acted on the suggestion of the parish council for the publication of the conditions under which steam traffic on highways is permitted. The issue of the new regulations of the county council is now awaited.

TRAIN SERVICE.—Among other railway business transacted the council, having been informed by the railway company that the late train run the previous winter between Lewes and Newick had been worked at a loss, requested the company to extend the train to East Grinstead, a request in which they were supported by the councils of East Grinstead, West Hoathley, Horsted Keynes and Danehill. The company, however, preferred to run the same train as before, but on Saturdays, an experiment which seems to have paid better. The council also obtained through the Brighton United Football Club a reduction of fares in connection with the Saturday train. Further information is likely to be furnished by the company shortly.

VOLUNTEER EQUIPMENT FUND.—At the instance of the Lord Lieutenant the parish council undertook to support and collect for this fund, and have arranged for the sum of £14 9s. 6d. to be sent to the treasurer.

VILLAGE GREEN.—Some progress has been made in pursuing the necessary inquiries, but some time must elapse before the council assume effective control, because the legal difficulties are exceptionally technical and intricate.

WATER SUPPLY.—The last-named consideration applies to the water supply, so far as it is connected with the Green.—*East Sussex News*, 13th April, 1900.

The Parish Meeting.

In those parishes which are too small to have a parish council, there is always a parish meeting, which has nearly the same powers as a parish council. It was intended that all the house or cottage occupiers and other electors in these small parishes should meet now and then in the evening to discuss the parish affairs and decide what ought to be done. They could appoint committees for special purposes, and get new powers conferred on them by the county council. This seems to have been a failure in most places. The parish meeting has been held as a matter of form, to elect a chairman and two or more overseers. But in very few villages have the laborers, or the other electors, had any real discussion on the parish affairs. Very few parish meetings have obtained allotments or grazing land, recreation or burial grounds; hardly any have done anything about the charities, or looked after the footpaths, or improved the water supply. In over 5,000 parishes in England and Wales, where no parish council exists, nothing at all has been done by the people themselves. During the year 1906-7, out of 5,724 parishes without parish councils, only in 385 did the parish meeting spend anything at all.

But a few of these little parishes have done something. Some of them have applied to the county council and obtained the privilege of having a parish council. This should be done by every one of them. A few have asked the county council to group them with neighboring parishes, and so share in their councils.

In a few cases the parish meeting has itself managed the parish affairs, as it was intended to do. Thus the parish meeting of Kempsey (Gloucestershire, pop. 210) has hired five and a half acres of land for allotments, which it lets out to seven tenants. At

Barney (Norfolk) the parish meeting managed to get four and a quarter acres for this purpose, which is now let to 15 tenants. So in East Worldham (Hampshire, pop. 272) the parish meeting hires and manages four and a quarter acres, let to 13 tenants; and at Walberswick (East Suffolk, pop. 304) the parish meeting has five acres, let to 12 tenants. In one case, that of Clapton (Gloucestershire, pop. 103), the parish meeting, finding itself unable to get allotments in any other way, applied to its county council and got an order compelling the landowner to let it some land.

Some of these tiny parishes have improved their burial grounds. The parish meeting of Little Hale (Lincolnshire, pop. 270) laid out £92 in providing additional burial accommodation, and borrowed the money on a thirty years term. The parish meeting of South Newbald (East Riding of Yorkshire, pop. 166) borrowed and spent £150 in this way; and those of Wilshop (West Riding of Yorkshire), Gauthrop (North Riding of Yorkshire), North Redditch (Worcester), £68, £40, and £70 respectively.

How Parishes can get Greater Freedom and More Powers.

Nearly everywhere we find the complaint that the parish council has not got enough power. Many things it cannot do at all, such as manage the village school, though it appoints one of the six managers. Many other things it can do only by getting the consent of the rural district council, a body usually made up of farmers, who often object to do anything, however useful it may be, that costs money. But parish councils have actually got many abuses remedied by writing to the rural district council, and this should always be tried. Sometimes (as, for instance, getting compulsory power to hire or purchase land) the parish council has to go to the county council, which is a long way off, and not very willing to listen to a small parish. The law ought to be changed.

But even under the present law there are ways and means by which a parish can get more power and freedom to manage its own affairs. Many parishes have done so in the following ways:—

I.—THE PAROCHIAL COMMITTEE.

The parish council may ask the rural district council to appoint a "parochial committee," and to make the parish council that committee, with, perhaps, the addition of the district councillor for that district. Then the parish council (besides all its own powers) may exercise within its own parish nearly all the powers that the rural district council possesses, if they are delegated to the parish committee. The expenses for sewage and water supply will be kept separate, and will be charged on the parish in the poor rate; but for other matters they will be shared over the whole district, just as if there had been no parochial committee, unless the Local Government Board confers powers specially for one parish. Thus the Croydon Rural District Council (Surrey) every year appoints parochial committees for five of its parishes, consisting in each case of the members of the parish council, together with the rural district

councillors elected by the parish. These parochial committees, meeting in the parishes themselves, practically carry on the government, giving their orders direct to the rural district officials, and making formal reports to the rural district council, which are usually confirmed. The Liskeard Rural District Council (Cornwall) has followed the same plan with regard to all the parishes within its district. Another example is seen in Derbyshire, where the Parish Council of Ockbrook (pop. 2,567) got itself appointed the parochial committee for the parish. Some of the best governed parishes in the Bromley Rural District (Kent) are managed by parish councils acting as parochial committees.

II.—THE URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL.

The parish council may apply to the county council to have the parish declared an urban district. The county council will send one or two of its members to hold a public inquiry in the parish, and if it is clear that the bulk of the people wish it, and if the parish is not too small, the county council will probably do what is desired. Then the parish elects an urban district council instead of a parish council, and gets quite free from any control by the rural district council. It can then build cottages, provide sewers and water supply, and manage the roads. It can go in for improving the parish in almost any way it chooses; but, of course, the parish will have to pay the cost in rates. An urban district council has practically the same powers as the town council of a small municipal borough. There are no aldermen, and the chairman is not called a mayor. But he is, during his year of office, a justice of the peace for the county; he can sit as a magistrate at petty sessions, and attend the general quarter sessions. There are many of these so called "urban districts" with fewer than 2,000 population, and quite rural in character. On the other hand, there are a score or two of parishes with between 5,000 and 15,000 population, which are apparently still contented to be under parish councils, and thus subject to the rural district council. There are some hundreds of parishes having more than 2,000 inhabitants in the same case. Every parish with a population of 5,000 or upwards ought to apply to the county council to be made into an "urban district," and so set free from the control of the rural district council.

Conclusion.

The lesson of all this is that "where there's a will there's a way." If there is anything wrong in a parish, the parish council can do a great deal towards putting it right, *if only the right men are chosen*. If anyone wishes for further information on the subject, he should write to the Secretary of the FABIAN SOCIETY, 25 Tothill Street, London, S.W. 1.



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MUNICIPAL TRADING.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT aims at improving the conditions of life in towns. Such improvement has already been effected to some extent and it may and ought to be carried much further. The undertakings by which it is accomplished may be divided roughly into two kinds: non-revenue producing and revenue producing. To the first category belong all those services for which no charge is made to the consumers as such, the cost being paid by the citizens by means of the rates. These are "unprofitable" in the ordinary commercial sense of the term. For instance, it costs money to destroy or disinfect a centre from which fever spreads; and though the ratepayer saves many pounds a year in doctors' bills in his own family and gains in the increased working power of his employees, he seldom thinks of crediting these gains and savings to the account to which he debits his rates. The municipalities themselves cannot estimate the savings and profits that result from people being alive instead of dead, or well instead of ill, and these items can never be brought into any statement of accounts which would satisfy the requirements of a "commercial audit." Much the largest part of all municipal expenditure is of this nature: paving, lighting and cleansing streets, maintaining order, collecting household dirt and refuse, housing and feeding destitute persons, educating children, making sewers and drains and keeping them in order, providing and maintaining parks and open spaces, roads and bridges—are all a general charge upon the community, it having been realized that the most satisfactory and often the only possible way of getting these things systematically done is by municipal action, and that the most convenient method of collecting the cost is not by fees but by rates. Expenditure on this work is liable to increase rapidly as soon as people realize that it really does not impoverish but enriches the community.

The Growth of Expenditure.

In the year 1884-5 the local expenditure in England and Wales for highways, education, poor relief, police, sewerage, lunacy and harbors (all non-revenue producing except the last two items, and those only repaying a part of the cost), amounted to about £29,300,000; and eighteen years later, in 1902-3, it had increased to about £44,000,000: that is to say, by about 50 per cent.; and these amounts include neither sinking funds and interest nor miscellaneous expenditure, which had gone up in yet greater proportion. The expenditure continues to grow year by year, but is not at all too great; for (apart from humanitarian considerations) the existence of infirmaries, workhouses and asylums makes life and

property safer ; and streets, roads, sewerage and harbors, as well as the industrial advantage of having a population able to read, write and cipher, are worth more than all we spend on them. But what is really unsatisfactory is that those who pay the rates are often not those who get the greatest benefit from them. A shopkeeper may be ruined and his family may have to go short of milk or boots because the rates on his shop are higher than his profits will bear ; and it does not console him to learn that the longevity of the community and the value of his landlord's property have greatly increased as a result of this municipal expenditure. It has to be admitted, therefore, that the present incidence of the rates is grossly unfair, and is rapidly becoming intolerable. The ground landlords in London, the value of whose land has been manifolded without effort on their own part, furnish an obvious instance of people who get too much from, and pay too little toward, municipal expenditure. No public advantage is secured by retaining a system which taxes some people unfairly to enrich others unjustly.

Revenue Producing Undertakings.

The second category of municipal undertakings, those which produce a revenue in fees or charges made for commodities supplied, constitute what is known as "municipal trading." For these undertakings a charge is made to the consumers who directly benefit by them, instead of upon the ratepayers at large. They generally yield a cash profit besides affording improved social services. It is customary to confine the term "municipal trading" to these undertakings ; but mention has first been made of the non-revenue producing work because it is the latter which causes the "high" rates and also a great part of those municipal "debts" often referred to as proofs that municipal trading is undesirable. The increase of rates, taking England and Wales as a whole, is due solely to expenditure on non-trading undertakings, of a kind indispensable to the very existence of healthy towns. Indeed, as will be seen later, municipal trading throughout the country, far from throwing any charge on the ratepayers, has resulted in a contribution being made towards the reduction of rates. As a matter of fact, the municipal "debt" of England and Wales, which in March 1905, already amounted to over £466,000,000, is to the extent of nearly £211,000,000 due to non-trading undertakings. The balance of over £255,000,000 is really capital in the commercial sense, being invested in enterprises which as a whole produce a cash profit or dividend.

Municipal trading easily pays its way, and could, indeed, be made to yield high cash profits were it desirable to do so. By charging as much for water, gas, electricity and tram-fares as private companies do, cash profits could be made out of municipal trading much larger than are usually made by private enterprises of a similar nature. The reason for not doing this is that the municipalities' aim should be not to make cash profits but to serve the public. In fact, it is not fair for a municipality to make large profits by charging high prices, because, as the profits go to the relief of the rates, those people who

travel often by municipal trams or use much municipal gas, water, or electricity, indirectly pay more in that case than their share of the cost of governing the town. That is why all municipal services ought to be run at, or nearly at, cost price. This is more or less the practice in many towns; and thus the opponents of municipal trading are able to declare that certain private companies earn larger profits than are earned by municipal undertakings. The latter charge little more than enough to cover their actual expenses, including the cost of renewal of plant, buildings, etc., plus interest on borrowed capital, and a sinking fund sufficient to repay that capital in a certain term of years; and people who do not ask what quality of service the public receives, nor at what price, nor how the employees are paid and treated, nor what hours they work, are consequently sometimes induced to believe that municipal trading brings no profit to the community: an opinion which will not stand examination.

As already suggested, many undertakings yielding great advantage to the community are of such a nature that private capitalists managing them are unable to secure any considerable profit in the form of dividends. In such cases, unless the work is done by a municipality, it is generally not done at all. For instance, the ultimate advantage to the community of destroying unhealthy dwellings in a congested slum, and arranging a fine open space where children can play and men and women who have been indoors all day can sit or stroll and breathe fresh air in the evening, may (by affecting the health and vigor of the population) be very great. The improvement may also so alter the aspect of the whole neighborhood that rents may go up and landlords may grow rich. But a man making the open space as a private speculation and trusting to the pennies he could charge for admission, or to the conscience-money that grateful landlords might send him, would find that he had made a very bad investment.

So strongly has experience shown that private companies cannot be trusted to supply the necessaries of life in good quality, sufficient quantity, and at a fair price, that even under a Tory Government the powerful vested interests of the water companies of London were unable to maintain their independence and were compelled in 1904 to hand over their long-established businesses to the management of the community. This example is being, and will be, followed in other places and with reference to other commodities. In fact, already in 1902, out of the 317 municipal corporations in England and Wales, no less than 299 were carrying on revenue producing undertakings of one kind or another. These undertakings included waterworks, gasworks, electricity, tramways and markets, as well as baths and washhouses, burial grounds, working-class dwellings, harbors, piers, and a variety of other businesses.

It would be easy to select examples of extremely successful municipal enterprises; but it will be fairer and more convincing to take the most complete results that have been as yet published for several large classes of undertakings.

Public and Private Enterprise Compared.

The Board of Trade publishes annually returns of *every* gas undertaking and *every* tramway undertaking in the United Kingdom. The following summaries are prepared from these official figures by the *Municipal Year Book* (see pp. 461 and 472 of the 1908 issue).

GAS UNDERTAKINGS.

	All Local Authorities in U. K. 1905-6.	All Companies in U. K. 1905-6.
Average price charged per 1,000 ft.	2s. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.	2s. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Expenditure (ratio to income) ...	73·53	76·12
Return on capital	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ %	5%

TRAMWAYS.

	All Local Authorities in U. K. Year ending March 31, 1906.	All Companies in U. K. 1905.
Cost per mile of lines <i>laid</i> by L. A. and Companies respectively ...	£24,916	£28,072
Return on capital <i>worked</i> by L. A. and Companies	8%	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ %
Working expenses (ratio to income)	63·08%	66·28%
Average fare per passenger ...	1·08d.	1·20d.

ELECTRIC LIGHT AND POWER.

Unfortunately the Board of Trade does not at present issue returns relating to electric supply undertakings, and no absolutely complete statistics are obtainable. However, the *Electrical Times* publishes excellent tables relating to all undertakings of which it can obtain official statistics. With regard to local authorities its list seems fairly complete, the omissions being of no great importance. Its list of companies is unfortunately very incomplete. Still, the figures are not *selected* in any way, and probably are a fair sample of the whole. The following summaries are taken from the *Electrical Times* of May 2nd, 1908, p. 347.

London Undertakings.

	12 London Local Authorities 1905-6.	13 London Companies 1905.
Average price per unit	2·63d.	3·08d.
Working expenses per unit... ..	1·28d.	1·55d.
Gross profit per cent. of capital ...	5·69	6·53

Provincial Undertakings.

	196 Provincial Local Authorities 1905-6.	70 Provincial Companies 1905.
Average price per unit	2·08d.	2·71d.
Working expenses per unit... ..	0·99d.	1·47d.
Gross profit per cent. of capital ...	7·15	4·79

PRICES CHARGED TO THE PUBLIC.

It will be noticed that in each one of these public services the prices charged to the public by local authorities are lower than those charged by companies.

COSTS OF PRODUCTION.

It will also be seen that in each service, without exception, the working expenses of the public authorities are lower than those of the companies. In the case of gas and tramways, the figures in the *Municipal Year Book* do not reveal the full extent of the difference in favor of the former. Thus in the case of gas, the average price charged by the local authorities is 2s. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per 1,000 cubic feet, and their average expenditure 73·53 per cent. of their income. Now it is clear that if they charged the same price as the companies (*i.e.*, 2s. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.) their income would be much higher, and their expenditure would therefore be very much less than 73·53 per cent. of that income. The same applies to tramways.

AVERAGE PROFITS.

It will be noticed also that in each service the average rate of profit of the public authorities is higher than that of the companies, except in the case of the London electricity undertakings. This exception is explained by the fact that in London the companies have the best districts and the largest undertakings, and have been much longer established.

It should be remembered that in addition to the large sums which are every year transferred from the profits of public undertakings to the relief of the rates, the public makes a large indirect profit in consequence of the lower prices charged. This indirect profit amounts to several million pounds per annum.

These figures conclusively disprove the statement so often made that municipal trading does not pay, and that it is extravagantly and wastefully conducted. They prove beyond doubt that at the present time public enterprise can and does give a cheaper service than private enterprise; that it is more economically and efficiently conducted; and that it is more profitable.

If private electrical enterprise were to be judged as a whole, debiting it with interest and sinking fund on all its wound-up unsuccessful companies as well as its successful ones, it would come out of the test far worse than in the tables given above. The private company, with its limited liability, may simply spend its shareholders' money and stop payment when it fails. It may "cut its losses," and ruin its investors. Whereas every sum borrowed for municipal enterprise must be paid back to the uttermost farthing; and until it is paid back the interest on it must be paid punctually, whether the enterprise pays its way or not.

Workmen's Dwellings.

Some charge on the rates has been incurred over the construction of working-class dwellings. According to the Parliamentary Return

to March 31st, 1902 (the latest authoritative statement available), capital to the amount of over £1,253,000 had been expended on these, of which about £207,000 had been paid off or balanced by sinking fund. The average yearly income, after paying working expenses, was £16,500; while the amount required for interest and repayment of capital was £43,500, so that the contribution from the rates was nearly £27,000 a year.

It must, however, be borne in mind that in the matter of supplying workmen's dwellings private enterprise has also failed. The overcrowding of the people, both in towns and villages, is the greatest scandal of our time. The census Returns show that nearly one-third of our total population, and in London alone nearly 1,000,000 people, live in an overcrowded condition. Over two hundred thousand Londoners are packed in horrible block dwellings, nearly half a million live three persons to a room, and thousands live in still more crowded conditions. The state of things in many rural districts is quite as bad.

The action of the municipality in this matter is almost confined by law to insanitary areas and to workmen's dwellings. A private builder is under no such restriction. He can take an order for a cathedral and for a potting shed, for a millionaire's house in Park Lane and for the cottage of the millionaire's gamekeeper. In the intervals between large contracts he can keep his staff and plant employed on small ones. If he decides to go into the business of housing the working classes, he can proceed much more cheaply than the municipality. Instead of erecting huge blocks of dwellings with fireproof floors and all the solidities and sanitary appliances of what may be called parliamentary building, he may "run up" rows of small private houses, which will presently become lodging houses; or he may adapt the family mansions of a neighborhood deserted by fashion, for occupation by working class families.* Under these conditions there can be no question of a commercial or any other test: comparison is impossible. The municipality is compelled to take the refuse of a trade and to carry it on in the most expensive way: the private builder has the pick of the trade, and can adapt his expenditure to the pecuniary resources of the tenant. Moreover the Local Government Board, when it grants a local authority a loan with which to erect houses, always insists on much more stringent conditions as to building than are contained in the ordinary bye-laws.

Other Undertakings.

We come finally to a group of undertakings which, though they are revenue producing in the sense that the public pays *something* for the use of the facilities provided, are still not generally expected to earn as much as they cost. To this group belong baths, washhouses, burial grounds, harbors, piers, docks and quays. It can hardly be necessary to demonstrate that it is better to give the poorest part of

* By law a municipality can build shops on building estates, and adapt existing houses for working class occupation. In practice these powers are rarely made use of.

the population opportunities to wash themselves and their clothes, even though they cannot afford to pay the full cost of the baths and laundries. With reference to dead bodies also, it is obviously more important to get these disposed of quickly and safely (though our cemeteries often fail to do this) than it is to try to make every municipal cemetery pay as well as some do. Similarly with harbors, piers, docks and quays. The Town Council of Penzance, for instance, may very reasonably decide to promote the trade and prosperity of the town by dredging and by repairing the dock gates, even though this for a time involves a contribution from the rates of some hundreds of pounds a year. The gain they look for is an indirect gain, or a gain only realizable in the future.

The total figures for this last group of reproductive undertakings—baths, cemeteries, harbors, etc., according to the same Parliamentary Return, are: Total capital expended, £9,792,000, of which over £2,815,000 had in 1902 been repaid or balanced by sinking funds. The yearly income—after deducting working expenses—was about £105,000. The amount required for interest and repayment of capital was over £371,000, and the consequent annual charge on the rates was about £266,500.

Such undertakings as the London municipal steamboats should not be judged merely by their financial results. Whether such boats should be run at a financial loss is a matter of opinion which ought to be decided by comparing the cost, on the one hand, with the gain to the population in health or pleasure, and the advantage accruing from relief to the street traffic, on the other. There are many services a municipality might provide, the advisability of which depends partly on what the city can afford, and partly on considerations only remotely connected with wealth.

The scope of municipal trading is not limited to the undertakings about which figures have been quoted in the foregoing. The Parliamentary Return already alluded to mentions "other reproductive undertakings" on which a capital of £714,000 has been expended, of which more than £150,000 had been paid off or provided for by sinking funds. The yearly surplus for these, after deducting working expenses, was about £48,500. The amount used for interest, repayment of capital, and set apart for depreciation, was about £33,200 a year, and the average annual net profit for four years was over £15,300.

The Manchester Ship Canal was accomplished thanks to the financial support of the Manchester Corporation. Liverpool and Glasgow provide municipal lectures, Battersea has a municipal young men's club, many towns provide municipal concerts, others have pleasure piers, Torquay owns a rabbit warren and makes a profit on it, Colchester owns an oyster fishery, St. Helens and several other towns have sterilized milk depôts, Hull manages a crematorium, the Gloucestershire County Council even runs a canal, Doncaster owns a racecourse, Bournemouth provides golf links for visitors, Harrogate fireworks, West Ham runs a paving stone factory, Bradford owns an hotel, scores of municipalities own property

of various kinds, while some of them execute their own works and directly employ thousands of workers.

In reckoning the advantages of municipal trading it must be remembered that the charges to the public for the service of water, gas, electricity, trams, and other public services, are usually lower than those of private companies; the people employed are usually better paid, better treated, and work shorter hours; those who lend money for the undertakings receive their interest regularly; there are no bankruptcies; and an incalculable amount of anxiety, uncertainty and friction is thus saved to the people concerned, and indirectly to those who depend on them or work for them.

These municipal undertakings are, year by year, repaying the capital invested in them, so that in time the plant will belong to the towns free of debt. They will then, if they have been kept in good condition out of revenue, as is generally being done, either produce a larger income in relief of rates or be able to supply services still more cheaply. It will be as though limited liability companies accumulated reserves sufficient to pay off their capital, and thereafter reduced the price of their goods or presented the public with all the profits they earned.

What then are the objections we hear so much of to the principle of municipal trading?

Those usually put forward are:—

1. That town councillors are not competent to manage them; and sometimes, on private grounds, appoint men to public posts for which they are quite unsuited;
2. That such undertakings increase municipal debt and add to the burden of the rates;
3. That it is "unfair" of municipalities to compete with private companies;
4. That new inventions may some day render the undertakings worthless;
5. That there is a risk of the municipal employees so using their vote as to obtain unfair advantages for themselves; and
6. That municipal accounts may be cooked to deceive the public.

Let us see what these objections are really worth.

Objection I.—The Competence of Councillors.

First, the importance of management as a factor in industrial success cannot easily be exaggerated; but management is nowadays as completely dissociated from ownership as machinery, and almost as easy to buy in the market. Nobody now suggests that a railway company is an impossibility because railways cannot be managed by a mob of shareholders, even when they act through committees of directors who do not know a piston rod from a trunnion. The directors simply prescribe the result they wish to obtain, and engage a staff of experts to tell them how to obtain it. Thus the London and North Western Railway Company manufactures everything it wants, from locomotives to wooden legs, without the inter-

vention of a contractor. A mob of ratepayers acting through a municipal authority is in precisely the same position. The ratepayers are just as stupid and short-sighted as ordinary joint stock shareholders, and the worst of their representatives on the municipalities are as incapable as the worst ordinary guinea-pig directors. But the ratepayers and councillors light their towns with electricity, run tramway services, build dwellings, dredge harbors, erect dust destructors and crematoria, construct roads, and manage cemeteries, as easily as a body of clergymen's widows can lay an Atlantic cable if they have money enough, or an illiterate millionaire start a newspaper. The labor market now includes an ability market in which a manager worth £10,000 a year can be hired as certainly as a navvy.

In spite of the fact that municipalities as yet move but slowly, and that an energetic man sometimes chafes in their employ and prefers to enter a private firm, it may yet be truly said that, on the whole, in the ability market the municipalities have a decisive advantage in the fact that prudent and capable organizers and administrators prefer public appointments. A municipality can always get an official more cheaply than a company can. A municipality never becomes bankrupt, is never superseded by a new discovery, and never dismisses an official without giving his case prolonged consideration in committee, from which he has practically an appeal to the whole body. A man who behaves himself and does his work has nothing to fear in public employment: his income and position are permanently assured. Besides, he enjoys his salary to the full; he has no appearances to keep up beyond the ordinary decencies of life; he need not entertain, need not keep equipages or servants for purposes of ostentation, may travel third class if he likes, and belong to what sect he pleases or to no sect; and this is why the ratepayers, in spite of their stinginess in the matter of salaries on the professional scale, get so much better served than they deserve.

If this answer does not satisfy you, turn to the actual results attained. The fact is, that town councils are generally managing their undertakings better, from the point of view of the public, than private capitalists have done. London's municipal trams compare favorably with the private companies' trams. The Manchester municipal gas supply compares favorably with Liverpool's private gas supply. The profits of a private gas company go, however, into the shareholders' pockets, with the result that in Liverpool a few people have a strong interest in upholding "private enterprise" (that is to say, their own profit), while in Manchester many people reap an advantage from municipal ownership. But as a few people making large profits can combine more effectively than many people reaping small advantages, the money and energy spent in attacking municipal trading is much greater than the money spent in showing the evils of private enterprise. As to the admitted fact that the public welfare is sometimes sacrificed to private considerations by elected persons of a certain type when they are not restrained by publicity and their dread of the electors, this is clearly not a

sufficient reason for substituting the unrestrained and irresponsible private "boodler" for the restrained and responsible public one, though it is a strong reason for arousing a deeper and more general appreciation of the extreme importance of choosing reliable men at local elections.

Objection II.—The Burden of the Rates.

The second objection, that such undertakings increase municipal debt and add to the burden of the rates, is absurd. The latter part of the statement is untrue; for, as already stated, municipal trading has reduced the rates by earning a net profit. The increase of municipal debt for revenue producing undertakings is merely the increase of capital usefully and productively employed; and the country would be worse instead of better off had this capital been raised by private companies instead of by municipalities. One of the weakest pleas employed by advocates of private profit-making is to call the money raised to start a private gas company "capital" and to speak of it as an indication of wealth, while calling the money raised to start a municipal gas works "debt," and regarding it as a sign of impending ruin. A real difference between the two is that the municipality arranges to pay off the money it borrows within a fixed term of years, whereas the private company wants to charge the public to the end of all time with interest and profits on the capital invested.

Objection III.—Unfair Competition.

As for the third objection there is, in one sense, a good deal to be said for the contention that private enterprises have not a fair chance in competition with municipal enterprise; for we have already seen that a municipality can get its skilled managers more cheaply than a private company can, and it is equally true that it can borrow its capital on better terms. Any of our large corporations can raise as much money as they need at less than 4 per cent.; and no private companies can get money at so low a rate. This is the central commercial fact of the whole question. The shop-keeper, by municipal trading, can get his light for little more than the current cost of production plus the rate of interest paid by gilt-edged securities, because municipal loans are accepted by the investing public, and the municipal stock of towns with over 50,000 inhabitants is regarded as a legitimate security by the law of trusteeship. Any profit that may arise through accidental overcharge returns to the ratepayer in relief of rates or in public service of some kind. Moreover, when a private company starts, it may be ruined by an accident or a miscalculation which prevents it from completing its undertaking with the capital at its command, whereas a municipality is in no such danger.

It is therefore true enough that private enterprise can only compete with municipal enterprise if it happens to have some unusual advantage in the special ability of its organizer, or if it controls valuable patents or other rights. It is also true that a small shop-

keeper cannot compete with a universal provider, or a horse-cab company with a taxicab company, or a ferryman with a bridge-builder, or the Belgian army with the German army. That may be "unfair"; but does any sane person propose to suppress universal providers or taxicabs or bridges or the German army for the sake of the small shopkeepers and horse-cabdrivers and ferrymen and Belgian soldiers? There is no other sense in which municipal trading is unfair. It is *better*. Yet the very people who complain of this superiority try to persuade the public at the same time that private enterprise is superior to it. It would, in fact, be unfair to the community if the municipality failed to make use of its advantages.

In the demand for handing over to private firms the work that the municipality can do more economically itself, we reach the root of the controversy about municipal trading. A large part of that section of English society which is capable of expressing itself intelligibly aims at arranging matters so that some people (whom we will call A) shall work for others (whom we will call B) under conditions which ensure a flow of money into the pockets of class B; and any attempt to get the work of the community so organized that there shall be no "profit," but that class A shall be fairly paid, and the services shall be supplied to the consumers at about cost price, appears to class B to be a foolish waste of opportunities Providence has supplied for the exploitation of the public.

As soon as one has grasped this, the controversy becomes intelligible. One sees why some people talk nonsense and others listen to it greedily; and one understands why the newspapers, controlled by the capitalist class, are so bitterly opposed to municipal trading.

Objection IV.—New Inventions.

As to the fourth objection, relating to new inventions, it is a penalty attaching to man's fallibility that when he has done the best that the science of his day indicates, the results of his efforts may have to be thrown upon the scrap-heap because his successors may know how to get better results by quite other means—as stage-coaches and semaphores were scrapped by railways and telegraphs. But this is no reason for avoiding municipal action. In few branches of industry has invention been busier and scrapping more frequent than in electric lighting. Yet our municipal electric plants are as much up to date as the private ones. And the advantage of the municipality is that though it can be benefited by a new invention, it cannot be ruined by it. The path of progress by private enterprise is strewn with bankruptcy, lunacy, and suicide. The ruin which overtakes certain sections of the population when inventions are left to the wild scramble of speculators, company promoters, and ignorant investors, would stagger our anti-municipalizers if it could be estimated in figures. Municipal enterprise need ruin nobody. It simply adopts the new method at the point at which its plant for the old method is worn out or costs less to scrap than to maintain. It has no prejudice against new methods: on the contrary, municipal engineers have to spend more time than

they like in making reports in answer to members enquiring about such methods. And when a municipality effects an improvement in method, it has no motive to keep it a secret. It at once gives the whole community the benefit of its ability and experience without charge. Secrecy and monopoly are of no use to it. To reduce the rates or the charges to the public by improvements in machinery or organization is the feather in its cap which it most covets; it is the surest way of gaining votes at the next election. The position of private ventures is very different. Some fresh application of electricity may ruin the gas companies; petrol-motors may ruin horse-bus companies; steam-motors may in turn ruin petrol-car companies, only to be themselves ruined a year later by electric-motors, and so on, till flying-machine companies ruin all the rest, and are in their turn wrecked by improvements as yet undreamed of, spreading dismay and ruin among thousands of innocent victims.

Objection V.—Employees' Influence.

As to the fifth point, the risk of municipal employees using their votes to obtain unfair advantages, it is conceivable that an active organization of municipal employees may some day play as selfish a part in municipal elections as that now openly played by those interested in commercial companies, though it is impossible for them to play an equally harmful one. But at the present time those who do much of the most necessary work, under the hardest conditions and for the poorest pay, have hardly any voice in settling the conditions under which that work shall be done. Surely it is the latter fact, and not the former possibility, that is the greater evil. The municipal employee is also a ratepayer: he is, in fact, his own employer, and, if he cheats his employer, cheats himself. It is true that if he is, say, a mason or bricklayer, he may try to push the municipality into excessive building. But he would have the same motive if the building work was given out to private contractors. Besides, all municipal employees do not belong to the same trade. As more and more members of the community become municipal or governmental employees, the problem will more and more be, how is the community to utilize the resources of the country and divide the work so as to obtain the best results with the least injury to the workers?

Objection VI.—Cooked Accounts.

With reference to the sixth point, the danger of the public being deceived by the way in which accounts are presented, it should be obvious that work professedly done for the benefit of the community, and properly exposed to continual criticism in the town councils and in the public press, is less likely to be accounted for in a way calculated to deceive the public than work admittedly undertaken primarily to enable certain shareholders and capitalists to make as much profit as possible for themselves. As a matter of fact, many authorities have done more than is demanded by the law, and have appointed professional auditors to check their accounts.

The six objections to municipal trading have now been considered ; but certain points calling for further comment arise from what has been said.

The Question of Character.

Municipal trading is one of the chief means whereby the social and economic evils of our day can be met ; but it is not a self-acting method. It depends always for its success on those who work it and on the community among whom it works. When all is said and done, municipal trading remains a machine by which men of capacity and goodwill can co-operate ; but the motive power to drive the machine must be generated in the hearts and minds of human beings.

It is obvious that very much depends on the selection of municipal councillors, and it has already been pointed out that it is an urgent duty of citizenship to support and encourage those who are both able and willing to give good service to the public. The men best qualified for the work are often those who are reluctant to undertake it, for a man really qualified for the post knows how difficult and responsible public work is.

It would, therefore, probably be wiser for the community to pay its municipal councillors, for it would then have a larger choice of candidates, and could be more stringent in its demands upon them. We have in this respect much to learn from Germany, where men of ability who make the work of municipal government their profession are elected mayors of towns, and are well rewarded both in money and honor.

Other Considerations.

Very important matters in comparing municipal trading with private trading are the question of the minimum wage, and the disadvantage (unless everyone employed by the contractor receives a full living wage) of contracting out work the municipality could reasonably do themselves.

This, and the important and not generally understood allied question of parasitic industries, is dealt with in Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb's "Industrial Democracy"; and an admirable summary of their argument is given in Bernard Shaw's "Common Sense of Municipal Trading," to which (as well as to Tract No. 128, on the Legal Minimum Wage) the reader is here referred, lack of space preventing us from dealing adequately with the subject.

Desirable Extensions.

Among the services municipalities might in the near future undertake or greatly extend much to the advantage of the public are Electric Power (Tract No. 119), the Milk Supply (see Fabian Tracts Nos. 90 and 122), Slaughterhouses (Tract No. 92), the Drink Traffic (Tract No. 86), Hospitals (Tract No. 95), and Pawnshops (Tract No. 91), not to mention many other things.

It needs no long argument to prove that the community has a stronger reason for wishing to obtain its supply of milk pure and as

near cost price as possible than any private trader can have for wishing to supply it in that condition and at such a price. It is equally evident that the milk supply of a whole town can be more economically organized if it be centralized than if it be left to the haphazard competition of a dozen or a hundred private dealers, several of whom may be sending their carts every day in competition with one another along the same streets. Similarly it is more to the interest of a community to slaughter only healthy animals for human consumption, and to do this as far as possible under cleanly conditions, than it can be to the interest of private slaughterers. Again, with the supply of coal, it is to the interest of mine owners and coal dealers that the difference between the cost of obtaining the coal and the price paid by the retail consumer should be large; but it is to the interest of the community to have coal supplied as nearly as possible at the price it costs, which could be done by nationalizing the mines and municipalizing the local distribution.

The Limits of Municipalization.

It must, however, on no account be supposed that it is desirable for our town councils to municipalize everything.

If the medical officer of health wants a microscope or the county surveyor a theodolite, it will not pay the municipality to set up a scientific instrument factory to produce that single article, possibly of a kind which can be produced by half a dozen firms in sufficient quantity to supply the whole of Europe. Even the London County Council, with all its bands, has never proposed to manufacture its own trombones. The demand for the commodity must be sufficiently extensive and constant to keep the necessary plant fully employed. The moment this limitation is grasped, the current vague terrors of a Socialism that will destroy all private enterprise laugh themselves into air. The more work the municipality does, the more custom it will bring to private enterprise; for every extension of its activity involves the purchase of innumerable articles which can, in the fullest social sense, be produced much more economically by private enterprise, provided it is genuinely self-supporting, and does not sponge on the poor rates for part of the subsistence of its employees; in short, provided it works under a "fair wages" clause.

A very serious and quite artificial obstacle to municipal trading, as has been already indicated, is presented by the limits within which the activity of each separate borough is confined. In the country, municipal enterprise is reduced to absurdity by the smallness of the areas and their openly nonsensical boundaries. Mr. H. G. Wells's description (in "Mankind in the Making") of his residence on the boundary between Sandgate and Folkestone (two places as continuous as Mayfair and St. James's), a boundary which no municipal tramcar can cross, shows the hopelessness of substituting public for private Collectivism there. A shipping firm whose vessels were forbidden to cross any degree of latitude or longitude might as easily

compete with the Peninsular and Oriental as the Folkestone municipality with a trust which could (and would) operate over a whole province.

In towns the nuisance of antiquated boundaries is equally flagrant and often financially much more serious. But evidently this is a difficulty which can be dealt with as soon as public opinion is educated up to the point of wishing to have it altered, a process which will probably be assisted by the success of various large trusts in crushing small competitors and monopolizing large industries for private profit. In America the Standard Oil Company and other large combines have done more than any Socialist arguments to open people's eyes to the evils resulting from industrial competition, or rather from that stage of economic progress which is rapidly replacing competition by combination, and which, while it does away with the inefficiency and wastefulness of the small, old-fashioned and incompetent trader, introduces its economies and improvements not for the benefit of the public (though incidentally they may get some crumbs of advantage) but for the gain of the capitalist.

The Evils of Private Trading.

It will also be assisted by a growing appreciation of the evils which accompany private trading. The wastefulness of private competition is so obvious that the average town councils would have to be worse than Tammany Hall ever was before a community could reasonably prefer to entrust its public services to the private trader. For though Tammany bosses made fortunes at the public expense by corrupt means they were at least capable and efficient business men; nor did they upset the industrial and economic life of the community as it is upset by speculators of the type of Whitaker Wright or the Directors of the City of Glasgow Bank.

In comparing private with municipal trading one has to bear in mind the indictment of ordinary commercial trades made by Sir Edward Fry, late Lord Justice of Appeal, who said: "If one enquires whether the morality exercised in the conduct of business in this country is satisfactory or not . . . I fear the answer must be in the negative. Let me enumerate some well known facts:—

"1. Over-insurance of vessels . . . when one considers how nearly this sin approaches to the crime of murder this consideration is startling.

"2. The bad and lazy work too often done by those in receipt of wages.

"3. The adulteration of articles of consumption.

"4. The ingenuity exercised in the infringement of trade-marks, and the perpetual strain exhibited by rival traders by some device or other to get the benefit of the reputation and name of some other maker.

"5. A whole class of frauds exists in the manufacture of goods, by which a thing is made to appear heavier or thicker or better in some way or other than it really is. The deceit is designed to operate on the ignorant ultimate purchaser.

“6. Lastly, but not least, bribery in one form or the other riddles and makes hollow and unsound a great deal of business.”

Add to this that a Special Committee of Enquiry of the London Chamber of Commerce reported :—

“Your committee conclude from the evidence before them that secret commissions in various forms are prevalent in all trades and professions to a great extent, and that in some trades the practice has increased and is increasing ; and they are of opinion that the practice is producing great evil, alike to the morals of the community and to the profits of honest traders.”

One has also to bear in mind that the late Lord Chief Justice Russell, addressing the Lord Mayor in 1898, described company fraud as “a class of fraud which is rampant in this community—fraud of a most dangerous kind, widespread in operation, touching all classes, involving great pecuniary loss to the community, a loss largely borne by those least able to bear it ; and, even more important than this, fraud which is working insidiously to undermine and corrupt that high sense of public morality which it ought to be the common object of all interested in the good of the country to maintain—fraud blunting the sharp edge of honor and besmirching honorable names.”

It would be easy to continue this indictment of present day methods by reference to the condition of many of the workers and the elaborate deception of consumers by enormously expensive advertisements, on the production of which a not inconsiderable portion of the energy of our population is wasted. Many of these advertisements are mischievous and dangerous as well as wasteful, leading people to depend on drugged or innutritious foods, on tyres falsely alleged to be non-skidding, on quack medicines, etc., etc., etc.

Experience shows that it is difficult to insist on a high standard of morality in war time ; but to take the case of the South African scandals as a typical instance, we find that the twelve ounces to the pound jam came from private, and not from government, factories.

The Incidence of Rates.

Something still remains to be said about a matter referred to at the commencement of this Tract, namely, the incidence of the rates. The progressive mayor of one of our large towns felt tempted to declare not long ago that municipal improvements should be stopped until the right to rate ground values had been obtained ; for, said he, what is happening here and in other places ? We are heavily rating our people in order to make roads and pave streets, and supply gas, water, and trams. The effect is to send up the price of the land we reach. Now a few years hence we shall have to buy parts of that land at a much higher value for schools, parks, open spaces, post offices, etc., etc. Then the very people who have paid the high rates expended on giving the increased value to what was agricultural land, will have to pay higher rates to buy it back at its enhanced price.

In reply to this it will be said that what happens is that the increase of rates really comes instead of an increase of rent, and that in this way ground landlords are already contributing largely to the rates; that, in fact, the present system is a rough way of taxing rent. And it really does so when the tenant is rackrented to the last farthing; but then very few ratepaying tenants are so rackrented. If the tenant would at a pinch pay another two pounds a year, say, sooner than move (a pretty common case, one guesses), he is, from the economist's point of view, enjoying two pounds a year of the rent; and if his rates go up by two pounds he will not be able to shift the increase on to his landlord. All that will happen is that his rent will become a rack-rent instead of falling two pounds short of it. The rate collector takes what the landlord spared.

The remedy is to tax all whose incomes are unearned; not the ground landlords exclusively, though, as a class, they gain most by municipal expenditure, and it is they who should pay the greater part of the local rates. When it comes to a question of national taxation, on the other hand, there is no reason why those who have large incomes from Consols or shares in industrial enterprises, should not also bear a large part of the burden; for they benefit from the maintenance of army and navy, police, etc., quite as much as the owners of the land.

The Last and the Next Generation.

The efforts of our forefathers during the last 150 years have solved one half of the economic problem. Man has obtained such a mastery over matter that it would be easy to-day to organize the labor of the inhabitants of this country so that all might be well fed, clad, housed and trained. It remains for us to accomplish the other half of the problem by arranging the production and distribution of wealth so as to minimize waste, and by making it difficult for the crafty to exploit the simple, to make it easy for all to obtain a fair share of the produce of their own labor and of the fruits of the organized efforts of the community.

In the gradual accomplishment of that task municipal trading can perform a large and useful part when once the question is properly understood and elections so conducted that public spirit and business capacity meet on our municipal councils.

Municipal trading has its limits. Some services, such as the railways, should not be municipalized but nationalized; and, as already indicated, there is no reason why ample scope should not be left for individual enterprise. But the reasonable limits of municipal trading have not yet been approached, even in our most progressive cities.

[Free use has been made of Bernard Shaw's "Common Sense of Municipal Trading" and R. B. Suthers' "Mind Your Own Business" in preparing this Tract, and many passages have been borrowed from those works.]

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SOCIALISM AND THE CHURCHES.

AN ADDRESS GIVEN AT THE BAPTIST CHAPEL, FOREST HILL, LONDON, TO THE LONDON BAPTIST ASSOCIATION ON JUNE 30TH, 1908, BY JOHN CLIFFORD, M.A., D.D., AND REPRINTED BY PERMISSION FROM THE "WESTBOURNE PARK RECORD."

THE word "Socialism," it will be remembered, came into use about the year 1835—a little more than seventy years ago—as descriptive of the heroic and self-sacrificing efforts of Robert Owen for the improvement of the social and domestic conditions of the workers of this country. It was descriptive of an endeavor to displace the fierce and disastrous competitive methods and conditions of industrial life by the introduction of co-operative and organized action based on justice and intended to promote the general welfare.

Socialism is a movement, and not merely a theory or a set of theories. It is of the first importance that we should regard it in that light, so that we may not be entangled in the various speculations which have sought shelter under the Socialistic label, or be misled by the sophisms and vagaries of some of its advocates, or blinded by the prejudices and falsehoods of some of its antagonists.

Primarily, it is a movement in the Social State, as "Modernism" is a movement in the Roman Catholic Church, or as Puseyism was an ecclesiastic movement, originating about the same time as Socialism, within the Anglican Church, or as the Evangelical Revival was a religious movement in the eighteenth century. Essentially Socialism was, and is to be judged as, a movement, a tendency, a pushing forward of the inner soul of humanity towards its predestined goal.

Now, as a movement it has a governing idea and a practical method, but the vital element is its *spirit*. Socialism is a spirit of justice and charity, of broad sympathies and general goodwill, of universal amity and benevolence, of service to others and not of getting for self. H. G. Wells, in that most illuminating and enriching book, "New Worlds for Old," says: "Socialism, as he understands it, is a great intellectual process, a development of desires and ideas that takes the form of a project—a project for the re-shaping of human society upon new and better lines." It is that; but it is more. It is an ethical and religious effort, proceeding from within the soul of the human race, for pulling down principalities and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places, and bringing every thought of man into captivity to the obedience of the teaching and spirit of Jesus Christ, the Savior and Leader of men.

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But whereas there is no doubt as to the spirit of Socialism, its working idea is not so easily caught or readily expressed. It is too early in the history of the movement, and its development as an idea is too infantile, for us to define it with accuracy and adequacy. Moreover, the idea takes the form of the political mould in which it is cast, and therefore we have one expression of it in Germany, another in France, and another in England. "The Encyclopædia of Social Reform" just published, after giving a long string of definitions from different authors, sums up the result in which they agree, thus: "Socialism may be said to be *the collective ownership of the means of production by the community* democratically organized, and their operation co-operatively for the equitable good of all" (p. 1,129).

But it is a more English way of thinking to look at an idea as it is embodied in a familiar fact, such as that department of the State called the General Post Office. Englishmen are not theorists, and are rarely captured by theoretical reasoning. We are practical men, and can more clearly understand Socialism as we see it at work at our own doors and in our own streets, than from any lengthened statement.

7. The Postal Service.

Here we see the Socialistic idea in operation. And first, we note a large number of our fellow-citizens enrolled as servants of the whole community. As children, most of them have been trained in State schools, and at the expense of the State. Then they have passed their examinations and been assigned their posts according to their qualifications. They do their appointed work without seeking to amass great riches. They are fairly content with their wages. They have a moderate measure of comfort. They are not anxious about old age. They have a sense of security; nor do they dread the workhouse, for pensions are secured to them. In London they have their Sundays free for mental and spiritual culture, and if they desire it, for work for the world. Clearly they are animated, not by the spirit of greed but by the Socialistic spirit of service. They own nothing. The buildings in which they labor are not their own; the red pillar-boxes which they empty do not belong to them. There is no private ownership, and yet they do not "dawdle;" they do not waste their time. They are honest and industrious. Our letters come with regularity, and on the stroke of the clock all through the day; and they find their reward in the moderate wage they receive, and the sense that they discharge their duty.

✓ Their home-life is their own. The relations between husband and wife and children are sweetened by the removal of all uncertainty and anxiety as to income; and in all other respects the postman is as much master of his home and of his life as any citizen of the land. At present he pays rent to a private person for his home. In a fuller Socialism that rent will go to the whole community; and in all probability his hours of toil will be fewer, his freedom wider, and his life richer in the things of the mind and spirit.

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There you have as in a mirror the idea and spirit of the Socialistic movement. That is what it does. That is what it means. That is what it seeks to do for the individual citizen and for the whole commonwealth. That is what it seeks to achieve of liberty, of contentment, and of widespread serviceableness. The illustration does not tell all that is to be told; but it answers objections, corrects mistakes, and affords a surer guide to the idea of Socialism as a movement than a whole sheaf of definitions.

Socialism Constructive.

Now the Post Office is a constructed State effort. It is a creation of intellect. It springs from the brain of Rowland Hill, and it advances by the State-building efforts of successive Postmasters and others to its present world-wide proportions and immeasurable usefulness. In that respect it is typical of Socialism as a movement. Socialism is intrinsically constructive. It displaces the haphazard labors of an individual by the organized efforts of all. I know it is often said that "England has blundered into greatness." I do not believe it. I know she has "blundered" into misery and cruelty, into perilous wealth for the few, and chains and curses for the million; into debasement and defilement for her daughters, and ruin for her children; and therefore no sign of the times is brighter than that which assures us that the hour has struck in which this "blundering" must stop, and the most direct route be taken from the Tartarus in which so many of our fellows suffer to the Elysian fields of mutual service and general wellbeing.

Hence, Socialism seeks to create a State which shall exist for all and be served by all; a State which shall provide work for all, and reward that work according to the quality and quantity of the work done; a State which shall give liberty and justice, security and comfort to ^{children, women, and children}; a State which shall "fix a definite minimum of welfare below which no one shall be allowed to fall," and yet shall not permit anyone to be defrauded of that to which he is justly entitled; a State in which service and honor, and not mere greed and vain show shall be the chief motives of action; a State in which every facility that the combined action of the whole of the intellect and goodwill of the community can invent or create, shall be offered for the training of the young, the protection of the imperilled, the succour of the weak, the comfort of the aged, the diffusion of happiness, and the increase of moral worth. Socialism will not leave everything to chance or to "good fortune," or to inheritance, or to superior might. It expects thought. It asks for intelligence. It invites science. It combines citizens together, and seeks to bring into a system the whole of the tendencies now working in the heart of the civilized world for the common good.

The Sanity of Socialism.

This movement, as I have said, is still very young: but it is becoming increasingly sane, balanced, statesmanlike, scientific, and

trustworthy. I admit that the "swollen floods of sophism, fallacy, cant, and rant," let loose by the agitation for the "Rights of Man" have not entirely disappeared; but I hold that the impracticable and implacable theorist is no longer representative. Every man who calls himself a Christian cannot be accepted as a sample of the Christian spirit or the Christian method; nor can everyone who wears a Socialist badge and carries a Socialist banner be justly regarded as speaking for the movement. Still less ought the assertions of the man whose one object is to bespatter and destroy Socialism to be allowed any place in the scales of judgment; assertions, for example, made by a man I will not name, that "Socialism is atheism," or that "the very essence of Socialism is that all the ten commandments should be swept away"; assertions based either on the misquotations of opponents or on the wild speech of non-representative men. For it is undeniable that the doctrinaire and cantankerous Ishmaelite is disappearing from the movement. The doctrinaire is far to seek. The mere theorist is at a discount. Few now expect a sudden revolution; most work to hasten a natural and orderly evolution of the Socialistic State. The historic sense is begetting the feeling that to-morrow must grow out of to-day, just as whatever elements we have of order and of progress, of liberty and good legislation, have grown out of yesterday.

Its Catholicity.

Socialism is not a class movement. Labor is in it; but so is science. The democrats of the streets proclaim its ideals, but so do students of the universities. Agnostics confess its obligations, and orthodox Christians are eager to forward its aims. In fact, the feature of the world's life that is the most prophetic of the future is the subsidence of the exclusive dominance of individuality, and the emergence of the social consciousness, of ~~the sense of~~ intimate, I may even say fraternal, relations—relations not only to the denizens of the home, the members of our "set," or of our "church" or profession; but to the municipality, to the nation, and to humanity. The whole sweep and trend of the age is Socialistic. No one is satisfied with the present condition. Everybody admits it has anti-human elements, and the anti-human is felt to be anti-social, irreligious, ungodly, the modern Antichrist. The men of wealth feel its presence, and some of them clutch their gold with a fiercer passion, as though they feared its departure. The men of avarice are aware of it, and publish their "lies" broadcast to keep up their dividends, increase their trusts, and convey the gains of our common life into the pockets of the few. The civilized world is gradually but surely travelling towards Socialism. The good seed sown with weeping and tears by Carlyle and Ruskin, Lord Shaftesbury and Saint Simon, Proudhon and Fourier, Ebenezer Ellicott and Ernest Jones, and others, is yielding its harvest in some, thirty, in some sixty, and in some a hundred fold. We have socialized transit and illumination, and we are socializing hygiene and medicine. Officers for the care of the health of the public, and district nurses for

ministry to the sick, are becoming part of our civic and political administration. Just as we organize for the defence of our citizenship by the army and navy, so we are constructing a department for the defeat of disease and the maintenance of health. As we have socialized the teaching forces of Great Britain, so we are travelling towards the organization by the State of a body of highly educated men to watch over the physical health and strength of the nation.

Nor are we limiting the functions of the State to the body. The training of the young citizen for citizenship has definitely passed out of the hands of blind chance. It cannot be left to individual caprice or bigoted and crippling churchmanship. It is the first duty of the commonwealth to its young. The provision of libraries and museums, of reading rooms and picture galleries, of the recreative ministries of art and of the discipline and order of science, are following. Technical training for industrial life is becoming part of the daily bread offered to the citizen, not on the grounds of individual hunger, but from the necessities of communal growth and progress. Then it is increasingly felt that we cannot leave the worker ignorant of the trade of the world. He must have access to a national bureau of information concerning the changing conditions of labor—the reverses in this department, and the demands in that—so that he may be able to take opportunity when it is at the flood, and may arm himself against a sea of misfortunes. Already we have gone far in these directions. Recently our Board of Trade has taken up the responsibility of mediating in the conflicts of large industries; and now we have the declaration that a certain amount of the funds of the State is to be set aside for the promotion of international peace and goodwill, in order to provide hospitality and fraternity for bodies of visitors to our shores from other lands.

The civilized world is gradually making room for the Socialist movement. The heathen rage and "Municipal Reformers" say vain things against the march of this Socialist spirit, but it is in vain. Bit by bit, inch by inch, the social conscience grows. The moral and social implications of the fundamental human fact that "we are members one of another," demand legislative adoption. Quietly and slowly, but inevitably, the sway of the sense of social duty rises and rules so that this twentieth century is sure to be the century of a conquering and beneficent Socialism. Professor Dicey, in his "Law and Opinion of the Nineteenth Century," traces the gradual escape of the English people from the fierce antagonism to political and social government which darkened the first four decades of that period, through the hard and selfish individualism of the fifties and sixties and seventies, on to the dawning, in the latter part of the century, of that Socialism which is destined to be the distinction and glory of this.

The Divinity of Socialism.

The fact is, and this is what I want to show, this is the plan of God. Socialism, in the soul of it, is divine. It is of God. He is

behind all, and in all, and through all, working out His great redemption of mankind. ~~God has His plan in every generation,~~ and I cannot hesitate to believe that "the plan of God in this generation connects itself with that irresistible social tide which rises higher and higher against the dry strands of our time, seemingly making ready to inundate all the old moorings of the world, and to give the race entirely new levels of departure forth upon its immense mission. We are weary of endless sociological wranglings, and often deeply incensed with the intolerant Socialisms of our day. And yet, weary or incensed, the tide of a realized common life, a tide which bears on its heaving breast the neglected truth of the world, keeps on rolling in, like that superb Hangchow bore of which Professor Edmunds has been writing so interestingly in *The Popular Science Monthly*—a something invincible to any barriers erected against it, continually destructive of false individualism, and yet a something which bears up with it into the pent places of humanity a mighty saving freshness from the deep oceans of divine purpose. Indeed, the Socialism which makes for fulness and unity of the common life 'spreads undiminished, operates unspent,' and has already covered, and covered to its permanent sway, whole regions of human experience."

It is political, in the sense that it has to get its work done through Parliament; it is civic, because it acts through the municipal and urban councils; it is international, for it seeks to displace the enmity of nations to one another by amity; it is literary and artistic, for it uses all forces that heal and help our suffering races; but in all and over all it is fundamentally spiritual and religious. In the language of John Shorthouse, "The world spirit is often the Christ spirit, and . . . when we begin to see that His footsteps may be traced in paths where we little expect to find them, we shall no longer dare to talk of the secular life," but shall rejoice to recognize that these, too, are the ways by which the kingdoms of this world are becoming the kingdoms of our God and of His Christ.

Still, I do not say that this movement is the *final* form of human society. We do not know, we cannot tell. Finality is a word we cannot place on anything. It does not belong to our vocabulary. But Socialism is the next, the necessary, the vital, the saving movement. Yet, just as the wage-earning period, with its colossal capitalists; its giant plunderers, usurers, and sweaters; its princes of philanthropies; and its myriads of miseries and cruelties, was confessedly an advance in the conditions of slavery; so Socialism may only be a stage in the wonderful evolution of the manifold life of the children of God.

The Churches Awake.

Now since that picture of the spirit, idea, method, and goal of constructive Socialism is demonstrably accurate, is it not a thing incredible that any of the churches of Jesus Christ should be fiercely antagonistic to it, or coldly critical or haughtily sceptical, or superciliously indifferent?

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Indeed, already those moods are passed or passing. The churches are awake to the golden opportunity at their doors. They are beginning to see that this is the hour of their visitation; that they must rise and interpret the revelation given by God in the social Bible of the world's life, and take the fullest advantage of this widening and unifying of the life of men for the establishment of the gracious and redeeming rule of God over the earth. As the Reformers seized the hour of the awakening of the intellect and conscience of Europe for the proclamation of the original Gospel of God, and the assertion of the rights of man against the tyrannies of priests and popes; as Wesley, Carey, and Howard, breathing the new social spirit created by the light which had been cast on the incalculable values of every human soul, made the epoch of the Evangelical Revival, of redeeming philanthropy, and of missionary enterprise: so the churches have already found in the presence of this vast change of social ideas and feeling, that

"New occasions teach new duties; time makes ancient good uncouth;
They must upward still, and onward, who would keep abreast of truth.
Lo, before us gleam her camp fires! We ourselves must pilgrims be,
Launch our Mayflower, and steer boldly through the desperate winter sea,
Nor attempt the future's portal with the past's blood-rusted key."

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It must be confessed that the churches have been slow of heart to perceive all that God has been teaching. They should have been the first to learn; they have been the last. They ought to have led; they have to follow. Their place was in the van; they are still in the rear; but they are in the rear, and in time will march on to their true place. They have had their vision. To them, as to Peter, sleeping and hungry on the housetop of Simon the tanner, the divine revelation has come. The sky has opened to their view, and what seemed to be an enormous sail has descended from heaven, and in it are seen all kinds of questions and problems, domestic and social, civic and national, questions of strikes and lock-outs, property and rent, sweating and intemperance; and a voice has been heard saying, "Rise, disciples of Christ, face these questions, and help to find the right answer." "On no account, Lord," has been the answer. "We have never yet touched these unspiritual things; they are outside our boundaries, and belong to the secular life of men." Again a second and a third time the voice has been heard saying, "What God has created you must not regard as unholy. His creative acts cleanse all the products of His power. The life of the State is His care. Labor is sacred. It is not for you to call His work unclean, or to restrict the outflow or overflow of His impartial love."

And while the churches have been greatly perplexed as to the meaning of the vision they have seen, men arrive from the Cæsareas of industry and literature asking for an interview, and reporting that they, too, have had a vision of the aid the churches may and ought to render in the present stress; for God, by His own gracious Spirit, has been preparing men, outside the bounds of the churches, to listen to the message they have to deliver concerning the relations of these economic and social questions to the spiritual life of man, and God

says, "Rise, and go without any misgivings, for it is I who sent them unto you."

So the churches are going to Cornelius. Our Free Churches have been sending their Simon Peters for a long time. What changes we have seen in our attitude during the last forty years! How the horizons have been lifted! What new sympathies throb in our hearts! How the compassions of Christ for the multitude move within us!

But the most welcome sign of change is in the Pan-Anglican Congress, for it has devoted, apparently, about three-fourths of its time, and more of its interest, to these vital problems of the world—gambling and intemperance, opium and alcohol, sweating and housing, low wages and unemployment—tracing them through their wide ramifications in the social organism, their destructive effects on young and old, and indicating the means by which these evils may be abolished.

The fact is, Christian men are ceasing to see any incompatibility between a rich and full spiritual life and the effort to reconstruct society on a Christian basis; and nearly all churches agree that in order to save men from sin and sinning they must face the whole life of man, the physical and industrial and social, not less than the life of the conscience and the will, of faith, and of love. They *must* enter into the Socialist movement. Admitted that it leaps up from unexpected quarters, and that our Rabbis have been heard saying with mordant contempt, "Search and look, out of Lanark and Paris ariseth no prophet"; admitted that the bold and adventurous apostles, according to the standard of the "schools," are unlearned and ignorant men, and threaten to overthrow the temples of orthodoxy, and to cast out the priests from the synagogues; yet it has to be confessed that they are inspired and sustained by the Christian conviction of the upward and onward progress of the destinies of mankind, are gripped by the vital truths and quickening fundamentals of the Kingdom of God, and are urged forward in their zealous crusade by genuine good will. Admitted, moreover, that the difficulties in the way of this social reconstruction are enormous; that to substitute a new economic system for the old, however brutal and destructive of human life the old system may be, is a task demanding the concentrated energy of an age, or perhaps of ages; that the institution of private property in land, houses and the like, is mixed up, seemingly inextricably, with the passions and habits and interests of men, and has been for centuries; that rent and interest are apparently as necessary to us as our breathing; admit all, still the churches feel and know they cannot hold aloof from this movement. It is of God, part of His plan, and they must accept it; fall in with it; and face it with courage, and hope, and do their best.

But what is their best?

What the Churches must not do.

That I will attempt to show; and first, let me say with the utmost emphasis, the churches must not imagine for one moment that they have to cease from their simple and unflinching testimony

to their own truths and ideals as fellowships of Christians organized expressly for the preaching of the gospel and the cultivation of the spiritual life. There must be no slackening of devotion to our primary work, no lowering of our aims; no submission to the dominion of the flesh and of sense. Soul is supreme in the life of man and will remain supreme. Soul is all, and all in all. Men may deny it. They do, they will, and not altogether without reason considering what poor Christians we are; but in the long run they are confronted and convinced by the irresistible logic of facts. History and present experience alike declare that no other name than that of Christ is given whereby we can have social salvation. Apart from His idea and spirit and work we can do nothing effectively; not even take the accurate measure of man's real need, or the height of his possibility. This work of preaching and living the Christ is primary and fundamental to the actions of the churches in the constructive social movement; and it requires vast reserves of courage and perpetual alertness. The world is always with us, and its maxims and customs and spirit always gravitate towards "compromise." At each stage the question rises how much of this wrong can we tolerate: and we are frequently ensnared by the evil we tolerate into treating it as though our toleration of it has made it good and just in itself. Our duty as churches is to keep the ideal at its highest, *i.e.*, as high as the standard set us by Jesus Christ; to say that the Kingdom of God is within men or it cannot be without; that all national progress depends on character; that the springs of social well-being are in the hearts and wills of men; to insist that a tolerated evil is still evil; that a wrong that is hoary with the weight of years and crowned with the approval of the great, is still a wrong. The churches are to witness against "compromise" even when it endures it, to resist the invasion of the realm of conscience by the magistrate, to assert the moral limits of accumulation, to war against trusting in uncertain riches, to insist that though a "time limit" for an evil system may be extorted, it does not cleanse the evil during the time of its existence, or excuse men from doing battle to end it altogether.

The Churches must care for the Spiritual Element of Socialism.

Nor is this all. The churches must take care that this social movement is not narrowed down to the economic side of life, as though a man had but one side to his nature, and was not a mysterious being with immeasurable possibilities both in time and eternity. It is for the Church to insist upon and secure the *spiritual* quality of Socialism. Owen and Marx have affirmed the economic element. The Fabian Society has illuminated and enforced the historical, and made clear that we cannot bury the old order and start as from creation's dawn. H. G. Wells and others have contended for the rational and ethical element; the churches must add the most important of all, the spiritual. It is this we can give. It is this we must give. Not apart from the economists, but with them; not apart from the evolutionary Socialists of the Sidney Webb school,

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but with them and through them ; not apart from the professors and teachers of the science of sociology, but with them ; informing and quickening the collective mind, and supplying that spiritual momentum which is absolutely requisite so that the constructive Socialism of the State may attain to the fulness of the stature of the perfect manhood of Christ.

This is our place in God's plan. The movement will not advance on sure and solid lines unless it is fed with the intelligence and faith, the patience and love, the hopes and high ideals, the sense and the enthusiasm of spiritual brotherhood. Without that aid it will sink into a dull, dead mechanism, or a more or less skilfully constructed machine, and become a mere matter of ballot boxes and suffragists, as if man were only created to "mind" a machine, and women were added only to give pleasure to him when the "minding" was done, and children followed so that the "minding" of the machine might not come to an end.

Let not the churches fear. If they are alive they will be wanted. If they are not alive they had better be carted away and buried. If they are faithful to Christ and His teaching and spirit, they will supply one of the most influential forces for forwarding the great social change. Socialism demands a far higher level of intelligence, of knowledge, of drilled capacity, of freedom and of moral worth than individualism. You cannot re-mould society out of illiteracy, indiscipline, intemperance, and selfishness. The full co-operative commonwealth is only possible where you have the best all-round type of man and woman—educated, drilled, self-reverent, self-controlled, self-sacrificing, free, and brotherly : capable of suppressing greed of gain and finding satisfaction in service. Efforts for the construction of Socialistic conditions break down for lack of character. Men are not yet "moralized" up to the point where a co-operative community is possible. Therefore the churches, made up of disciples of Christ, must give themselves to the work of what Paul calls "edification" or "man building" ; they must stir and illumine the conscience, create good and healthy opinion, turn opinion into conviction, and conviction into action, elevate ideals, stiffen will, and fire with enthusiasm, and so supply the character, freedom, and force on which the order and progress of mankind ultimately rests.

The Emancipation of the Churches from Anti-Social Conditions.

Again, the churches should free themselves from every anti-social alliance and anti-social condition. They ought not to have any complicity as churches with politics and practices based on social inequalities, social monopolies, and anti-Christian social distinctions. The Christian society should realize in all its arrangements the ideal of the social commonwealth, and breathe in all its actions the bracing air of liberty and equality and fraternity. It ought not to accept any special favors from the State. It must render to Cæsar the things that belong to Cæsar. It is of right the foremost trustee

and chief guardian of the liberties of man ; because it has to render to God the things that are God's ; to care for liberty of conscience ; that liberty which includes and guards the liberty of speech, and of the press, and all the great freedoms of the soul of man. It must not be content with evil conditions because they are inherited, and yield large advantages to itself as a society at the expense of the freedom and rights of other members of the community. It must not hold itself aloof from or averse to change, because it may suffer thereby ; but be willing and even eager for the changes that lead to the greater good of all.

Indeed, in the Church of the New Testament we see existent, in principle and in germ, what we expect to enjoy in a perfectly constructed social state. The Church of God in the Acts and Epistles knows nothing of class distinctions—has neither laymen nor clerics. "Ye are an elect race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation," is the description Peter gives of the group of saints to which he belongs. The apostle and the prophet, the teacher, the evangelist and helper are one ; all distinctions within the body disappear in the one sacred distinction of being within the circle of the people of God. It knows no separating class arrangements. It is the foe of caste. Mammon worship is swept utterly away by the flowing waters of the Church's generosity. Race antipathy is alien to its spirit, and love is poured out in steady and limitless floods. There, in the ardors and achievements of the first churches, we have set before us what we ought to seek with full purpose of heart for all men.

Study.

Further, the churches must encourage and systematize the study of social facts by their own members. It is fitting that we should know the main current of the whole Socialistic movement, and follow the story of the organization of the masses of workmen into a solidarity of interests ; why it is here ; why it has come now ; what it means and towards what it is driving. Ignorance is the prolific mother of misery. Our young people do not know, and therefore they do not consider, how the bodies of their fellows are stunted, their minds crippled and fettered, and their souls lost by the hardness of economic conditions. The young Socialists outside the churches enquire, and enquiry leads to sympathy and action. The Fabian Society instructs by its literature and discussions. Professors of sociology teach in the schools of economics and political science connected with the University of London ; but the churches need to organize and direct classes for this study, so that our young people may be able to analyze and classify the social conditions of the workers ; know the civic institutions that affect their life ; the legislation as to insurance and pensions, factories and mines ; the laws of taxation, and so on ; and be led to see these facts in their relation to the deeper realities of the spirit, and from these high considerations seek the abolition of unjust land laws, make war on the causes and sources of poverty and vice ; and qualify for high-minded and self-denying service to the State.

Electoral Action.

Nor should the churches fail, at the times when they can control the constructive efforts of the commonwealth, to put men into office who are, by conviction and sympathy, in favor of using the wealth that accrues from our communal life for the good of all; and eager to prevent its being appropriated for the selfish enrichment of the few. They ought to exclude from civic and political work those who juggle with the words "liberty" and "reform," in order that they may the more easily filch from the public purse the riches that belong to all, and return to power only those representatives of the people who will either largely modify or else get rid of laws and institutions that stand right across the path of the social reform—such as the House of Lords, the rule of the land by the few, the swollen tyranny of the drink trade, and the like—and who will be prepared to introduce that better era in which the community shall be administered for the good of all. The churches ought, whilst not, as churches, identifying themselves with Socialist organizations, to take their full share in the gradual reformation and rebuilding of society; to welcome every practicable extension of the Socialistic principle; and inspire their members to give themselves in all humility and lowliness of mind, with much patience and love, to organize our common life on the principles of brotherhood, of social helpfulness, and of the laws of the kingdom of God.

And assuredly the churches can and ought to keep the minds of men alert to note every existing wrong in the framework of society, to feed the courage and patience that battles with that wrong and tries to rid the world of it, and to inspire that passion of the Cross by which men will be ready to toil and fight and suffer for that full redemption and regeneration of the individual and of the world which Jesus Christ came to effect.

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CHILD LABOR UNDER CAPITALISM.

The Industrial Revolution and Child Labor.

At the end of the eighteenth century England ceased to be predominantly agricultural and became the most important manufacturing country in the world.* Child Labor being regarded by the manufacturers as absolutely essential to the speedy piling up of fortunes, the morality of which no one questioned, it was universally employed in the cotton mills and factories which suddenly sprang up in the land. Manchester, specially the seat of the cotton trade from its earliest days, was the greatest employer of Child Labor, and became wealthy and populous. In ten years—from 1780-1790—the population almost doubled, owing to the inrush from the country of people, who were tempted by high family earnings to barter their infinitely healthier existence on the land for life in crowded slum cities. A positive majority of the workers in the cotton mills were young children.

Until the middle of the eighteenth century spinning and weaving had been done in cottage homes with the simple hand looms which had altered but little from primitive times. But with the introduction of elaborate and costly machinery into factories the work changed its character. New methods, new buildings, new modes of life superseded those of the rural life of the English peasantry. The latter at first refused to allow their children to work in the factories and mills which had been built by their streams and rivers from which was derived the water-power which worked the machinery. The parents at first considered it derogatory and degrading work for young people. But to procure the cheapest form of labor was considered not only justifiable but almost a mandate from heaven. The wealth that poured into the country, notably into the pockets of the manufacturers, was regarded as a reward from God for industry and self-help. Unfortunately in the workhouses of London and other large towns manufacturers easily found the cheap material they required. Shoals of unwanted children of all ages, even as young as five and six, were transported from workhouses and sent as parish apprentices to remote districts wherever their labor was wanted. The parish authorities, whose callousness was equalled by the manufacturers, were only too anxious to be rid of the burden of rate-supported children, and they actually stipulated—so little did humanity and pity rule their hearts—that a due proportion of feeble-minded children must be taken as part of the contract. As far as is known no further interest by the overseers was shown in the fate of these hordes of victims of ungoverned industrialism.

* *The Industrial Revolution*, by Arnold Toynbee; *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, by W. Cunningham; *Capital*, by Karl Marx.

No one can tell how many thousands died unknown and untended over a long series of years. No records were kept. It was no one's business to see after such children. Employers for the most part regarded their apprentices as of less value than their machines, which at any rate were kept clean and carefully preserved. The masters themselves were frequently men of low type, with little or no education, who had often come from the ranks of manual labor themselves, and who were intoxicated with their own sudden wealth. They had little sympathy for the class from which they had sprung. Children worked side by side with adults and for the same length of time. They worked all day and sometimes all night; they were cruelly beaten if fatigue overcame them at their work; they worked in bad air without ventilation or sanitation, and with no regard to cleanliness or decency (the two sexes being herded together at night in huts); they received no personal care morally or physically, no education, no love. Many were living skeletons, some almost gibbering idiots. They died off like flies from various diseases, especially pneumonia, fostered by the sudden changes of temperature from damp heat in the mills to cold outside. Malignant fevers decimated them from time to time, and of those who survived many were in poor health, ignorant of the commonest things, and destitute of all education, secular, religious or moral.*

The work in the mills was, perhaps, not in itself hard. It consisted of piecing together the broken threads of cotton, of removing obstructions from the machinery, and of cleaning its parts. But accidents were not infrequent. And the children of all ages stood at their work the whole day through (often from twelve to fifteen hours at a stretch, with one and a half hours' interval for meal times), under pitiless taskmasters.

The conscience of society gradually became aroused to the evils of the system when the sins committed upon the hapless children reacted upon itself. When infectious fevers, originating in the dens where the little apprentices festered, were caught by children and adults outside, it was brought home to people that some foul wrong existed somewhere.

In 1784 the Manchester magistrates requested a committee of medical men, led by Drs. Percival and Ferriar, to investigate an outbreak of fever in the Radcliffe cotton factories. Dr. Percival, F.R.S., President of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, had had his attention specially called as a medical man to the evils and ravages of disease among the Poor Law apprentices in the town.

The first report, from which all subsequent factory legislation sprang, was that presented in 1796 to the Manchester Board of Health by Dr. Percival on the abuses and cruel conditions of life under which all the operatives, and especially the children, lived and died. It was resolved by the Board to invoke the aid of Parliament to establish laws "for the wise, humane, and equal government of all such works."

* *Life of Robert Owen*, by F. Podmore; *History of Factory Legislation*, by B. L. Hutchins and A. Harrison.

Robert Owen.

On the Board sat Robert Owen, cotton spinner, embryo philanthropist, and pioneer of factory legislation. He and his two partners subsequently purchased the cotton mills of New Lanark belonging to David Dale (whose daughter Owen married), and who was one of the few instances of a humane and enlightened master of that period. Owen carried on the work at New Lanark in the same humane spirit as his predecessor, and instituted a series of reforms in Child Labor. He raised the minimum age of the workers to ten, and refused to take any more Poor Law apprentices, preferring to gather in as employé's children who lived at home with their parents. He established infant schools where children from one year old were kept in a very superior crèche and kindergarten combined. In his schools for older children he established co-education, and had dancing, military drill, natural science, botany, arithmetic, geography, history, singing and music taught. He allowed no punishments of any kind. The whole atmosphere of his schools was one of love. He, more than any educationist before or since, recognized that children are like plants, in that they want more than care and attention; they want love.

The First Factory Act.

In 1802, Sir Robert Peel the elder, himself an owner of cotton factories, inspired by what he knew of his own mills at Radcliffe and the report of the Manchester Board of Health, introduced and got passed the first Factory Act known as "The Health and Morals of Apprentices Act." By this Act the hours of labor were limited to twelve a day, and the children were forbidden to work at night. They were to go to church once a month, and were to be taught reading, writing and arithmetic. Girls and boys were not to sleep in the same apartment. The factories were to be ventilated and periodically whitewashed. All this seems little enough to the modern sense, but it called the attention of right-minded people to the subject, and raised a standard of humanity which has never been lowered, and from it came, slowly it must be confessed and after fierce struggle, all subsequent factory legislation.

Employment of "Home" Children.

One result of this Act, which dealt solely with Poor Law apprentices, was the substitution for them of children who lived at home, on whose behalf the law had not interfered. The evils of excessive work were now transferred to the "home" children, and continued to be borne by them for many long and weary years. Steam power, after 1802, having replaced water power, factories were built in towns, and, as the children lived with their parents, many of the ghastly and horrible outrages on health and decency disappeared. But the hours of work were just as terrible. Seven was the age at which children began to work in the mill, but cases of even six and five were not uncommon, and they worked twelve hours a day—thirteen hours at a stretch with an interval for dinner

only, breakfast and tea being snatched while at work. No seats were provided, and the children stood the whole day through. Many had to clean the machinery on Sundays.

The Cotton Mills Act of 1819.

In 1819, through Robert Owen's influence and ceaseless endeavor, Sir Robert Peel the elder got passed the Act known as the "Cotton Mills Act" of 1819. Although shorn of all the chief provisions dear to Owen's heart, for which Sir Robert Peel himself had striven, "The Act of 1819," as Mr. Podmore says in his *Life of Robert Owen*, "marks the first and the most important step in the long procession of Factory Acts. Under it for the first time the State assumed the rights of parent and guardian to the children of the free, and took upon itself to prescribe the hours of work and the general condition of their labor."* This Act referred solely to cotton mills. The minimum age of employment was fixed at nine. The hours of labor were to be twelve per day. No provision was made for education, although this had been most strenuously urged by Owen.

The Acts of 1833-44.

It was not until 1833 that provision was made by the Act of that year for the appointment of paid Government inspectors. The hours of children's work were restricted to nine per day. But this Act failed to work satisfactorily, and the Act of 1844 was passed, enacting (1) that children from eight to sixteen must not work without a medical certificate; (2) that factories were to be inspected and registered; (3) that children under thirteen might only work half time. Extensions and amendments of this Act were made in 1867, 1874, 1878, 1883, 1891 and 1895.

The Coal Mines Regulation Act.

In 1887 the "Coal Mines Regulation Act," amending the statute of 1872 (which had replaced that of 1842), forbade girls and women and boys under twelve to work in any mine below ground and forbade it for boys from twelve to sixteen for more than ten hours a day or fifty-four hours a week.

The Factory and Workshops Act of 1901.

But the twentieth century has seen the most vital changes of all, the most important respecting Child Labor since Robert Owen pleaded nearly a century ago, viz., the consolidation and amendment of all the previous Acts into "The Factory and Workshops Act of 1901."

Child Labor To-day.

It comes as a surprise to the majority of present day people to learn that Child Labor still exists all over Great Britain, and for the most part to a highly injurious extent. This is more flagrantly the case in Yorkshire and Lancashire, where the "half time system" is

* *Life of Robert Owen*, by F. Podmore, p. 208

in full play. According to the Report of the Board of Education for the year 1906-7 there were no fewer than 82,328 of these half timers or "partial exemption scholars"—to give them their official name. In 1904-5 the number was 80,368, and in 1903-4 it was 78,876. So the numbers are increasing.*

The three areas in which the largest number of "partial exemption scholars" are found are the Administrative County of Lancashire, with over 11,900, and the West Riding of Yorkshire and the County Borough of Bradford, each with over 8,000. All three areas show an increase in the number of these scholars in 1905-6 as compared with 1904-5. The County Boroughs of Oldham, Sheffield and Burnley also show noticeable additions to the number of "partial exemption scholars."

These half timers are children over twelve years of age who have obtained a labor certificate, and who are then allowed by the law to be sent to work half a day in mills or factories, provided that they are sent to school the other half of the day. Employment in the mill has to be either in morning or afternoon shifts, or on the alternate day system. One set of children begin work at 6 a.m. or 6.30 a.m. and go to school in the afternoon; the afternoon set go to work in the mill at 1 p.m. and end at 5 p.m. or 6 p.m., and attend school in the morning. A child may not be employed in the same shift either morning or afternoon for two consecutive weeks. No child may be employed on two successive Saturdays, nor on any Saturday if he has worked for five and a half hours on any day in the previous week. The maximum time for work for half timers is twenty-seven and a half hours a week.

Many of the children on the first shift rise at 5 a.m. (Mr. J. C. Clynes, M.P., states that he rose about 4.30 a.m. as a half timer); and sometimes they have to walk a mile to the mill in all weathers and be there by six o'clock. They have half an hour for such breakfast as they can afford. At mid-day they walk home to their dinners. At 2 p.m. they are in school.

Is it any wonder these children are worn out and that they fall asleep over their desks; or that the merciful teacher lets them sleep? The education that they receive is of very little use, whilst the injury done to their health by their double work is often irreparable.

Miss Clementina Black, President of the Women's Industrial Council, states: "I shall never forget the impression made on my mind by the peculiar mixture of pallor and eagerness on the faces of the little half timers the first time that I ever went over a weaving mill. The place was light and airy and the work was not hard, and the management considerate; but as to the children, any London doctor or any woman accustomed to the care of children, would have thought their appearance unhealthy and their expression of face abnormal."† Miss Black adds: "Labor in childhood inevitably

* See also the *Report on the Employment of Children in the United Kingdom*, by Constance Smith (British Association for Labor Legislation).

† *Sweatea Industry*, by Miss Clementina Black, p. 122.

means, in nine cases out of ten, decadence in early manhood or womanhood; and the prevalence of it among ourselves is perhaps the most serious of national dangers. It is an example of that most cruel form of improvidence described by the French proverb as 'eating our wheat as grass.'

Bradford, a pioneer town as regards its admirable arrangements for the scientific feeding of the necessitous children at school, is one of the principal offenders in the sin of the half time system.

Miss Adler, a member of the Education Committee of the L.C.C. and Hon. Sec. of the Committee on Wage-earning Children, recently made personal enquiries at two manufacturing centres in the north of England, one having over 5,000 half timers, the other 800. She said the appearance of the children was sickly and pallid owing to the fact that the processes of cotton and wool spinning have to be carried on in a humid and warm temperature. All authorities whom Miss Adler interviewed stated that the children lost 50 per cent. of their education; and she added that "teachers consider their whole moral tone is lowered, and that there is a visible deterioration which is most heart-breaking."*

Is there any plea that can be urged for the continuation of such a system? Yes, there is. This is what the Right Hon. H. O. Arnold-Foster (late Secretary of State for War), writes by way of opposing Socialist reform: "The great cotton industry of Lancashire, the wool and worsted industry of Yorkshire, and many other industries in a less degree, *are at the present time dependent on Child Labor*"; and he gives, as a plea for its justification and absolute necessity—exactly as Nassau Senior did three-quarters of a century ago: "The minute margins of profit and loss" owing to competition; adding: "The fierce competition of the world, especially in those countries in which Child Labor and long hours are prevalent, has to be met."† No statement could be more condemnatory of our present social system based on competition.

Inspectors, managers, teachers, members of education committees are agreed as to the evils resulting from children working during the years that they attend school. Nor do the parents' necessities compel such child-slavery. All who have studied this question testify that, as a rule, it is the children of men earning good wages who are sent to the mills as early as the law allows, in order to gain a mere pittance of 2s. 6d. for twenty-six or twenty-seven hours work a week. One penny an hour is the usual rate of wages for a half time child working at the textile trade in Yorkshire. It is not the very poorest parents who are the greatest exploiters of their children. It is to be noted that all these children and their work come under the jurisdiction of the Factory and Workshops Act; and that, accordingly, their lives for the most part are deliberately regulated and controlled by the State.

* *Child Workers and Wage Earners*, by Miss Adler.

† *English Socialism of To-day*, by the Right Hon. H. O. Arnold-Foster, pp. 99, 100.

Children not under the Factory and Workshops Act.

As regards children whose work does not come under the jurisdiction of the Factory and Workshops Act, and therefore escapes Government inspection, they may be classed as those employed (1) in shops, or by shopkeepers as errand boys and girls, and carriers ; (2) in domestic work ; (3) in street trading ; (4) in agriculture ; and (5) in various miscellaneous industrial employments at home or abroad.

The Parliamentary Committee of 1903 came to the conclusion that there were in England alone (apart from the half timers) 200,000 children thus employed as wage earners. It can easily be seen how such uninspected Child Labor may be exploited, and how extremely difficult, and, in many cases, how impossible it is to super-vize and prevent its abuse.*

In London the half time system has been abolished, but there is very little else upon which the Metropolis can be congratulated as regards Child Labor.

Child Labor in Domestic Work.

The abuse of Child Labor in ordinary domestic work is the most difficult of all to control. Miss Bannatyne, a school manager and Acting Warden of the Women's Settlement at Southwark, stated before the Inter-Departmental Committee of 1903 that children are often absent from school one or two days a week on account of domestic employment. The casual labor is bad for the boys' character, and the long hours unfit them for school work. The girls suffer from drudgery in their own homes, which she saw no way of preventing. But if the half days could be prevented and the attendance at school more regularly enforced, she believed that whilst much Child Labor would be prevented it would not affect the family income to any appreciable extent. Thus, a stricter attendance must be enforced at school.

"Ay! There's the rub." If regular attendance at school were really enforced, the parents, knowing the law could not be evaded, would accept the situation. It would be an enormous gain all round ; first, to the children, who are now overworked, and whose education is spoilt by irregular attendance ; secondly, to the managers and teachers, many of whom are unceasingly worried over this question ; and thirdly, it would be a great saving of expense, as a large staff of attendance officers has to be kept under our present system to compel the parents to send their children regularly to school.

Even in the special schools for mentally defective children in Bermondsey, the writer has found cases of girl children who are such pitiful little drudges at home that the officer of the N.S.P.C.C. has had to be sent to "warn" the parents, with the result that the children are worked less hard, but only, it is feared, when closely super-

* The Government has appointed an Inter-Departmental Committee to enquire into the working and result of the half time system. The Trades Union Congress at Nottingham in September, 1908, passed a resolution urging its abolition.

vized by the officer. Another little girl in a special school gets 1d. a week and her tea for going after school to help a neighbor in domestic work and nurse the baby. (This penny she deposits regularly every week with the teacher for her own boot fund).

Of play, so absolutely essential to the proper physical and mental development of childhood, many of these children have next to none. They are old before their time and incapable of joy, and are weighed down by the responsibility of life.

Child Wage-Earners in London and the Provinces.

Miss Adler gave evidence before the Inter-Departmental Committee on Employment of School Children in March, 1901.* In the summary of evidence it is stated that: "For the purposes of the present enquiry Miss Adler had caused about 4,000 London cases and 3,000 cases in the provinces to be investigated. Those employed are about 10 per cent. of the total number of children. Miss Adler put in very voluminous tables, from which it appeared that out of 107 London schools containing 42,097 children, 3,897 were employed—633 in domestic work, 136 as barbers, 723 errand boys or girls, 1,227 in shops, 341 milk carriers, 386 street hawkers, 451 in other miscellaneous employments. Out of 3,527 cases in which the hours were clearly specified, 2,652 worked less than thirty hours a week, fifty-three worked over fifty hours in addition to school. The figures show that it is not the most needy parents who employ the children excessively. Some cases are very extreme; as, for instance, a girl employed sixty hours a week at trouser-making. Saturday work is often excessive. In the provinces returns were collected from some schools in twelve towns, showing out of 67,865 children that 3,049 were employed. The nature of employment and hours worked were much the same as in London, and many cases of excessive hours were to be found. In London the street traders were about one-tenth of those employed. In the provincial towns they amounted to nearly one-fourth of the total employed. Of the employments, domestic work, that is, going in to clean knives and boots, is the least harmful. Street selling is always bad."

Wage-Earning Children in Hoxton and Bermondsey.

In March (1908) the writer accompanied Miss Adler in her inspection of wage-earning children at a boys' school in Hoxton and at a girls' school in Bermondsey. They found 15 per cent. of the boys in the Hoxton school were wage earners. They were employed as errand boys to take out bottles, parcels and papers; at a tea shop, at a coal shop, at an upholsterer's, at a barber's. As street sellers they sold laces, salt, pot-herbs, vegetables, blacking. One "picked over green stuff" for a greengrocer; one ran errands for a maker of doll's arms; one looked after a crippled boy; one helped at a whelk and mussel stall; one made capsules, one cardboard boxes, one sticks; whilst one covered steels.

* Minutes of Evidence taken before the Inter-Departmental Committee on Employment of School Children in 1901, pp. viii. and 70-73.

At the girls' school in Bermondsey some ran errands, some minded neighbor's babies, some sold vegetables in the streets, or helped at coster stalls, some played with neighbors' children, some sold alone in the streets, which is illegal. The boys' occupations are the most varied and interesting. Those of the girls' are often very heavy, tiring and dreary. "Bright girls," Miss Clementina Black truly says, "are put to work far too soon, and they become apathetic, listless women at thirty-five who might be fifty."

Mrs. Hogg's Report.

Nine years have passed since the evils of Child Labor were brought officially to the notice of our rulers, and that by a woman. Mrs. F. G. Hogg (Secretary of the Education Committee of the Women's Industrial Council), made a special study of the subject and organized a deputation to Sir John Gorst, then Vice-President of Committee on Education, respecting it. A Parliamentary enquiry was instituted, and the facts brought to light were so terrible and unexpected that Sir John Gorst in the House of Commons called it "a perfectly sickening document which threw a lurid light upon the social conditions of a large part of the population." One manager stated: "Without exaggeration I can truthfully assert that there are to-day in our National and Board schools thousands of little white slaves."

This Parliamentary report stated that 144,000 boys and 34,000 girls worked regularly for money out of school hours, but nothing was said of casual or seasonal work. Of the children regularly at work, 131 were under six years of age, 1,120 between six and seven, 4,211 between seven and eight, 11,027 between eight and nine, and 22,131 between nine and ten. One little boy peeled onions twenty hours a week for 8d. a week. A milk boy received 2s. a week for twenty-eight hours labor a week—less than 1d. an hour. One boy received 6d. for twenty hours work a week. A little boy engaged in pea-picking received 3d. a week. A little girl under six carried milk for thirty-five hours a week for her parents, and earned no wages. Another under six was a nurse girl who worked for twenty-nine hours a week for 2d. and her food. A boy of ten worked seventy-two hours a week for a farmer for 3s. A newspaper boy worked 100 hours a week, including Sundays (over fourteen hours a day), and received 3s. 6d. a week and his meals. One girl of twelve was employed before, between and after school for six and a half hours a day for 3d. a week. Another girl of twelve got 9d. a week and her food for carrying out parcels for six and a half hours daily during the intervals when she was not at school. A greengrocer's boy of twelve started for the London market every day at 2.30 a.m. He returned at 9.30 a.m. and then went to school!

One would have thought that after such revelations as these were officially made known to Parliament it would have bestirred itself to remedy the evil. But the usual delays occurred.

The Inter-Departmental Committee on the Employment of School Children, formed in 1901, represented three of the great

Departments of State—the Home Office, the Board of Education, and the Board of Trade. As a result of this, in 1902, a Bill to deal with Child Employment was introduced, but, as Sir John Gorst says,* “was not proceeded with, the time of Parliaments being occupied with subjects more interesting to the governing classes. It was introduced again in 1903, and, by great good luck, became law on January 1st, 1904; but in 1906, in most places, in spite of the Act of January 1st, 1904, the deliverance of over-worked children is still a long way off. The local authorities belong, to a very great extent, to the governing class, and are not much under the influence of working-class opinion.”

The Need for a Socialist Party.

Sir John Gorst winds up his chapter on “Overworked Children” thus: “The story of this attempt at reform illustrates the impotence which threatens our social system, and the incapacity of the governing classes to carry out the simplest measure of social reform, even one which does not affect their interests, and on the necessity for which they themselves are agreed. It seems to justify the people in revolting against the parties into which the governing classes have divided themselves, in forming independent labor parties and in endeavouring to take the regulation of Society into their own hands. The present holders of power, according to the view of the rising party of the people, have had their opportunity; they have failed to avail themselves of it, and the carrying out of necessary reforms must now pass into other hands.” Moreover, as Sir John Gorst adds: “Had the counsels of women been more sought after and attended to, many of the lamentable blunders that men have made in the treatment of children would have been avoided.”

Bye-Laws to be Framed by Local Bodies under Act of 1903.

After all these delays, the Employment of Children Act of 1903 conferred powers on the London County Council and the councils of other counties and boroughs to frame bye-laws to regulate Child Labor. Mrs. Alden, M.D., states:† “The Act contains regulations which, if they were enforced, would have great value. The failure to enforce the regulations is due largely to the laxity of local authorities, who have neglected to frame bye-laws, and who have failed in some cases to put into operation even the statutory provision of the Act.”

Bye-laws were framed by the London County Council in 1905, but only now, in 1908, are they at length to be enforced. The employment of children under eleven is forbidden. If attending school, children are only to be employed in industrial work at home between 5 p.m. and 8 p.m., or on other days between 9 a.m. and 12 noon, and between 5 p.m. and 8 p.m., or on Sundays. Three and a half hours are to be the maximum of work if attending school, and eight hours a day when the school is not open. If attending

* *The Children of the Nation*, by Sir John Gorst.

† *Child Life and Labor*, by Mrs. Alden, M.D., p. 110.

school they are not to be employed outside the home between 8 a.m. and 5 p.m., or before 6 a.m. or after 8.30 p.m. Street trading is regulated for all children under sixteen. Girls under that age are to trade only when accompanied by a parent or guardian. Boys under sixteen are to wear on the right arm a badge provided by the Council. On Sundays children are not to be employed for more than three hours and between the hours of 7 a.m. and 1 p.m.

But the enforcement needs more officers than are at present employed. A school attendance officer recently told the writer that in addition to his ordinary visiting (he has 3,200 children to look after), owing to these bye-laws, he has to be out in the streets until midnight on Saturdays in order to prevent children being employed beyond the legal hour—8 p.m. in the winter and 9 p.m. in the summer months.

In a return to the House of Commons dated June 25th, 1907, it is stated only sixty-six local authorities in England and Wales (out of more than 300), twenty-six in Scotland and five in Ireland had framed bye-laws.

The Prevention of Cruelty Acts.

The Act of 1894, among other useful provisions for the protection of children, made their employment in theatres or other places of entertainment conditional on the obtaining of a magistrate's licence, to be granted only when the magistrate is satisfied that the child is physically fit for the work and that proper provision has been made for its health and kind treatment. This Act has been amended and extended in the Act of 1904 and the Children's Act, 1908. The dangerous training of acrobats is subject to regulation.

The Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906-7.

This Act authorizes the levying of a halfpenny rate, if necessary, for the feeding of necessitous children, by any county, borough, or urban district council in England and Wales which is an education authority under the Education Acts of 1902-3. The Act, being permissive, has, in London, lamentably missed fire so far. Although members of the London County Council were moved to tears in the autumn of 1907 by Mr. Crooks' eloquent speech on behalf of the feeding of poor children, a majority of them voted against the levying of the halfpenny rate to buy food, for fear of placing additional burdens on the ratepayers. The London County Council, so far as concerns the feeding of necessitous children, contents itself with co-operating with private agencies and charitable societies, which are, in many cases, far from satisfactory. In Bermondsey the children have often to be given a penny by the head teacher and sent to the cook shops, as no provision can be made for them at the schools. The food provided by the caterers is often most unsuitable for children, especially for those who have delicate stomachs. Even if parents are able to provide food for their children in the slum districts, it is often of the most unwholesome kind, such as fried fish (bought cold), eels, meat pies, coarse parts of meat (especially pork), bloaters, cheap jam

and bread, vinegar and pickles, whilst tea is a universal drink. (The tea being more of the nature of a "stew" can hardly be called tea at all.) Milk porridge, bread and milk, and milk puddings are almost unheard of, whilst maccaroni is unknown. The children's taste is vitiated by the strong flavored viands which they are given; and at first it is often difficult to get them to eat food suitable for their age and delicacy. Children fed at home are not infrequently sick over their desks in school. It is, of course, far easier for many parents to buy cooked food than to cook in their own poor rooms, with an impossible firegrate, no oven, no water supply, no sink, and no dustbin for vegetable refuse. To cater properly for the children, a system such as that prevailing in Bradford must be organized. In the matter of feeding the children England expects every city to do its duty at least as well as Bradford.

In the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration in 1904, Dr. Eichholz, one of H.M. Inspectors of Schools, estimated the number of underfed children in London at 122,000, or 16 per cent. of the whole.

Up and down the United Kingdom there are at least as many children at school hungry as in London. Dr. W. L. Mackenzie, Medical Member of the Local Government Board for Scotland, said that in the slums of Edinburgh a large proportion of children were half starved. Dr. Kelly, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ross, stated in 1904 that in the South of Ireland it was commonly the case that children came to school underfed.

Medical Inspection under Section 13 of Act of 1906-7.

This Act provides for the medical inspection of all school children. But though medical inspection is of the utmost importance, it is of little use without medical treatment and proper feeding. It is believed that half the children in the mentally defective schools are thus defective, or backward, owing to improper feeding or semi-starvation. Their brains are anæmic, their eyes are often sore, their ears deaf, their teeth ache, their heads and bodies are verminous. Such children, when grown up, swell the ranks of the unemployed and unfit, and will continue to do so until the scientific feeding of school children is undertaken.

There is no more instructive reading respecting the physique of children than the *Report by Dr. W. Leslie Mackenzie and Captain A. Foster on a Collection of Statistics as to Physical Condition of Children attending the Public Schools of the School Board of Glasgow*, which was issued by the Scotch Education Department.

This Report gives the results of the most extensive investigation ever undertaken in Great Britain as regards the physique of the children. The heights and weights of children in seventy-three schools in Glasgow were dealt with. Returns were obtained for 72,857 children in seventy-three schools, which were divided into four social groups, representing, among other things, the distribution of one, two and three or more roomed homes.

At each age from five to eighteen the weight of the children was found to be uniformly below the standard of the average of the

population as ascertained by the Anthropometrical Committee of the British Association. Up to the age of fourteen the children were distinctly below the standard.

Boys and girls in Group A, the poorest districts, fell very much below the anthropometric standard. At the age of ten the boys' average weight was 10·8 pounds below the standard, and the average height 2·9 inches below. At thirteen the average weight was 11·1 pounds below the standard, the average height 3·1 inches below. The facts were practically parallel with regard to the girls.

As surely as boys or girls came from Group A, the one-roomed group, the children were always on an average distinctly smaller and lighter than the children from the two-roomed group; and those from the two-roomed group were smaller and lighter than children from the three-roomed group; and those from the three-roomed group than the children from the four-roomed group. The Report says: "The numbers examined are so large, and the results are so uniform, that only one conclusion is possible, viz., that the poorest child suffers most in nutrition and growth. It cannot be an accident that boys from two-roomed houses should be 11·7 pounds lighter on an average than boys from four-roomed houses and 4·7 inches smaller. Neither is it an accident that girls from one-roomed houses are, on an average, 14 pounds lighter and 5·3 inches shorter than the girls from four-roomed houses."

Now, many of these undersized children are employed as wage-earning children. It is fair to assume that if as comprehensive a report were made of children in London as in Glasgow, the results would be equally startling.

Pernicious Effects of Street Trading.

As regards street trading, all the witnesses before the Inter-Departmental Committee and all inspectors, managers, members of education committees, and clergymen, are agreed that its influence on children is entirely pernicious. Mr. Chilton Thomas, who was for ten years Hon. Manager of Father Berry's Roman Catholic Homes at Liverpool, stated: "The more we have to do with street trading, the more baneful we find it. Would that it could be abolished. I do think the street trader is such a social leper that he ought to be kept quite apart from the errand boy who has some sort of trade for his after life." In 1892, Mr. Chilton Thomas said they had a home for these street trading boys. He had 3,000 of them pass through his hands; but they had to shut up the home, as they found it did not do the boys a bit of good without regulations by the City Council (now in force in a measure), and without the care of parents or guardians. He also said the hours of labor on Saturday were terrible.

As regards street trading for girls, Miss Florence Melly, formerly a member of the Liverpool School Board, stated: "Our day industrial evidence would go to this, that no girl remains good after fourteen years of age who has had street trading. 'Chip girls' and 'step girls' should be included, as they go from house to house and come in contact with anyone who opens the door."

Mr. Alderman Watts, Chairman of the Sub-Committee of the Watch Committee of Liverpool, said: "To have a pleasant looking child in the streets is flying in the face of the greatest possible danger. I have a strong opinion that if girls are kept out of the way of temptation during the earlier period of their lives, they will grow up respectable women; but if the temptation is thrown in their way, as it must be in the street, the danger is very great indeed. Liverpool a few years ago was, perhaps, one of the worst cities in this respect—as bad as London, in fact—but you will not find it here now. The death rate," Alderman Watts continued, "amongst children is abnormal and awful. Children cannot be exposed in the streets or elsewhere without very serious danger to their lives. Nine out of ten of little girls are of delicate frame."

Mr. Alderman Rawson, Chairman of the Watch Committee of Manchester City Council, said: "We are quite certain that the trading by girls in the streets leads to loose life. We have illustrations to that effect of a very painful character. The selling of newspapers and matches by girls in the streets is often a mere cloak for solicitation. There are girls that come from homes so bad, from parents so dissolute, that we believe the selling is simply a pretence, and that parents send them out knowing it is a pretence."

So much for the efficacy of parental control, guidance, and care under certain conditions of life. All the Councils of Liverpool, Nottingham, Birmingham, and Manchester were in favor of the total prohibition of street trading for girls.

But why only for girls? Sir Lambert Ormsby, President of the Royal College of Surgeons in Dublin, bore witness before the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration in 1904 to the miserable physique of the little street traders in Dublin and the frequent cases of pneumonia among them in the children's hospital, the death rate being quite abnormal.* And there is a concensus of opinion that it is from street trading boys that spring most of the unemployed, the casuals, the loafers, the gamblers, and many others who form the most difficult problems of modern society.

As a matter of fact, it is found that child labor and unskilled labor go hand in hand. For, in the first place, child labor is itself unskilled labor, and unskilled labor of a kind very attractive to certain employers. It is cheap; fresh supplies are always ready to hand; and, most important of all, it is intelligent unskilled labor, at any rate until the training of the school has lost its effect. Secondly, it leads to a supply of unintelligent unskilled labor. The child who is working cannot be learning, and the child whose mental development is checked is the child who becomes in later years the laborer too stupid to employ except at the lowest wages. Finally, even if he could escape from this dreary fate, he has no desire to do so. The bent has been given to his tastes; he has been taught to regard earnings, and not prospects, as his sole goal in life, and to sacrifice the last for the sake of the first. †

* *Juvenile Wage Earners and their Work*, by Miss Adler, p. 4.

† See *The Town Child*, by Reginald Bray, L.C.C.

As regards the general employment of children, the Head Master of the Anglesea Place Board School of Bristol declared that the evils of employment have shown themselves over and over again in the following ways:—

1. The boys are often late for school, some habitually so.
2. They come to school utterly worn out.
3. There is a grave moral deterioration.
4. Their mental power is diminished. It is very rarely a wage-earning boy does his school work well. The injury done to children is very great.*

In the Michael Faraday School in Walworth, Mr. Marshall Jackman said that, out of 227 wage-earning boys in his school, only 61 were in really good health. Dr. Thomas, the Medical Officer of the L.C.C., examined 2,000 children in schools, and he found that, out of 384 wage-earning boys, 233 showed signs of fatigue, 140 were anæmic, 131 had nerve signs, 63 per cent. showed nerve strain, 64 were suffering from deformities from the carrying of heavy weights, 51 had severe heart signs, 27 had severe heart affection, and 72 per cent. of barbers' boys were anæmic. †

Mrs. Pankhurst, at one time a member of the Manchester School Board and member of the Board of Guardians, stated that wage-earning by children was "demoralizing," and that "it would be distinctly an advantage to the parents in the long run that the children should be withdrawn from these employments. The more intelligent artizan does not believe in sending out his children to work for wages. . . . It competes with adult labor."

Child Labor in Agriculture.

In the agricultural districts the attendance at school is constantly evaded. It frequently happens that the local magistrates and county councillors are landlords or farmers, who must have cheap labor, even at the expense of the children's well-being. The children are employed in milking and tending cattle, in picking up stones off the land, in weeding, in picking strawberries (often at 3 a.m. in the season in all weathers), in hop picking, and in minding and leading horses. The work is extremely fatiguing. There is still in this twentieth century a wearing struggle between the educationist and the child exploiters, although it is not as bad as it used to be. In certain country districts 75 per cent. of attendances—instead of 95 per cent.—is still considered high.

The Childrens' Act of 1908.

But there are signs everywhere now of the awakening of the public conscience to the infamy of Child Labor. Although this Act does not deal directly with the labor question, there are, under it, to be established Juvenile Courts, in which all charges concerning the welfare of children will be heard, including applications for committal to industrial schools and reformatories.

* Report of Inter-Departmental Committee, Appendix No. 32.

† Barbers' shops in London are now, by bye-law, barred to boy workers.

The Immediate Reforms to Work for.

The evils disclosed are grave. Leaving aside for the moment all schemes of social reconstruction, what immediately practicable reforms will bring prompt, if only partial, remedies? There is a vast amount to be done by mere administration of the existing law. It may safely be said that no local authority yet makes anything like full use of its powers under the Education Acts, the Shop Hours Acts, the Children's Act, etc. An enormous amount of good would result if members of education committees and of town or county councils could be induced merely to put the existing laws fully in operation. But amendments of the law are urgently required. In agreement with practically all those who have studied the question, we recommend :—

1. That for children under five for whom adequate home care is not available, there should be a sufficient provision of small day nurseries, under the administration of the local health authority, where these infants can remain all day, either gratuitously or at fees representing only the cost of the food supplied.
2. That attendance at school of all children between five and fourteen be rigorously enforced (the poorest parents being adequately assisted to enable them to let their children attend), an adequate supply of suitable efficient schools being everywhere provided under due public control, including special schools for sub-normal children of various kinds, "open-air" schools and vacation schools.
3. That children in attendance at school be not permitted to be employed for hire under any pretence whatever.
4. That in order to ensure the welfare of the coming generation of citizens the responsibility for the care and maintenance of children of school age, being destitute, be transferred from the Poor Law to the local education authorities.
5. That it be made obligatory upon the local education authorities to organize throughout the whole year a system of providing, at the expense of the rates and under direct public control, suitable meals of a simple kind for all children found at school in an underfed condition; such meals to be provided under skilled and salaried supervision with the amenities of civilization.
6. That it should be made obligatory for every public elementary school to have attached to it a "Children's Care Committee" of members whose duty it should be to take cognizance of every child attending school in a neglected or necessitous condition; to visit its home and discover what is amiss; to afford such friendly help as may be required; and to bring to light any cases of ill-treatment which call for criminal prosecution.

7. That in all cases in which a child is provided for by what is now Poor Law relief, reports should be obtained upon its adequacy and the character of the home; and that where it is not considered expedient to grant to the parent enough for the full maintenance of the child, or where the child is found, in fact, to be suffering from lack of nourishment or lack of care, the child be sent to a day industrial school, where it will receive meals and care during the whole day.
8. That where it is found that the parents are of such vicious life and character as to be wholly unfit to have the care of children, the guilty parents should be criminally prosecuted for their neglect, and the children sent to residential schools, so as to secure their proper upbringing.
9. That the minimum age at which children may leave school to be employed in industry at all be raised at once to fourteen, and as soon as possible to fifteen (as in Switzerland).
10. That in view of the need of securing effective technical and domestic training for all boys and girls, the "half time" provisions of the Factory and Workshops Acts be extended for all industries up to the age of eighteen, no boy or girl under eighteen being allowed to be employed in industry for more than thirty hours per week.
11. That provision be made for the compulsory attendance of boys and girls between fourteen and eighteen at technical institutes for a combined course of physical training, technical education and continuation classes, absorbing the thirty hours per week which they will no longer give to their employers.

LIST OF BOOKS, Etc., RECOMMENDED.

- ADLER, Miss NETTIE.—Child Workers and Wage Earners. *Journal of the Society of Arts*, June 12, 1908. Bell. 6d.
- ALDEN, MARGARET, M.D.—Child Life and Labor. Headley Bros.; 1908. 1s. n.
- BRAY, REGINALD.—The Town Child. Unwin; 1907. 7s. 6d. n.
- GORST, Sir J. E.—The Children of the Nation: how their health and vigor should be promoted by the State. Methuen; 1906. 7s. 6d. n.
- SMITH, Miss CONSTANCE.—The Employment of Children in the United Kingdom. Twentieth Century Press; 1908. 6d.
- Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress for the Welfare and Protection of Children, held in London, July 1902. King. 2s. 6d. n.
- Employment of School Children. Report of Interdep. Committee. Cd. 849, 1902. 3d.
- Street Trading. Report of Interdepartmental Committee. Cd. 1144, 1902. 1s. 8d.
- Royal Commission on Physical Training, Scotland. Vol. I. Cd. 1507, 1903. 1s. 1d.
- Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration. Vol. I., Report. Cd. 2175, 1904. 1s. 2d.

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Fabian Tract No. 142.

RENT AND VALUE.

ADAPTED BY MRS. BERNARD SHAW FROM
"THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF SOCIALISM"
IN "FABIAN ESSAYS."

"There is nothing *specific* in Socialism except its economics. . . . There is absolutely nothing peculiar to it except its economic demonstration that private property produces the phenomenon of privately appropriated economic rent and all the consequences of it."—G. B. S.

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RENT AND VALUE.

ADAPTED FROM THE FIRST OF THE "FABIAN ESSAYS IN SOCIALISM."

PART I.—RENT.

SOCIALISTS, protesting against the present state of society, have lately been often met by two somewhat contradictory assertions. We are told that too much stress has been laid upon figures, statistics, and "dry" things such as political economy: that what is wanted is a "great wave of emotion," "genuine religious feeling," a "change of heart"; that these and these only will rectify the cruelties and injustices of the present state of society. And in the same breath it will often be illogically maintained that "you can't change human nature"; and that as human nature has brought about the present state of things it is no use trying to make any radical alteration.

Now I propose to shew that human nature, whether it can be changed or not, did not bring about the present state of things; but that it was rather the present state of things which brought about human nature; that the existing conditions of society are the result of economic laws which work inexorably, indifferent to the weal or woe of the human race, and unconscious of its existence. I also propose to shew that should the human race become conscious of the existence of such economic forces, and capable of directing them, these laws can be made to subserve man's welfare as powerfully as, left to themselves, they have been working for his destruction. A change of heart, if it be in the right direction, seems incidentally desirable; but by itself, and unaccompanied by the requisite knowledge of economic laws, it will be as useless as would be a wireless telegraphy station sending messages into space were there not somewhere a receiver to collect those messages.

The Origin of Rent.

Picture then to yourself a vast green plain of country, virgin to the spade, awaiting the advent of man. Imagine the arrival of the first colonist, the original Adam. He drives his spade into, and sets up his stockade around, the most fertile and favorably situated patch he can find. Metaphorically Adam's little patch is a pool that will yet rise and submerge the whole land. Other Adams come all sure to pre-empt patches as near as may be to the first Adam's, partly because he has chosen the best situation, partly for the pleasure of his society and conversation, and partly because where two men are assembled together there is a two man power that is far more than double one man power. And so the pool rises, and the margin spreads more and more remote from the centre, until the pool becomes a lake, and the lake an inland sea.

But in the course of this inundation that specially fertile region upon which Adam pitched is sooner or later all pre-empted and there is nothing for the newcomer to pre-empt save soil of the second quality. Also, division of labor sets in among Adam's neighbors; and with it, of course, comes the establishment of a market for the exchange of the products of their divided labor. Now it is not well to be far afield from that market because distance from it involves extra cost for roads, beasts of burden, and time consumed in travelling thither and back again. All this will be saved to Adam at the centre of cultivation, and incurred by the newcomer at the margin of cultivation.

The Establishment of Rent.

Let us estimate the annual value of Adam's produce at £1,000 and the annual produce of the newcomer's land on the margin of cultivation at £500, assuming that Adam and the newcomer are equally industrious. Here is a clear advantage of £500 a year to Adam. This £500 is economic rent. For why should not Adam let his patch to the newcomer at a rent of £500 a year? Since the produce will be £1,000, the newcomer will have £500 left for himself; that is, as much as he could obtain by cultivating a patch of his own at the margin; and it is pleasanter to be in the centre of society than on the outskirts of it. The newcomer will himself propose the arrangement, and Adam may retire (not in consequence of any special merit of his own, any extra industry or brain power, but simply because he was fortunate enough to get the best place at the right moment) as an idle landlord with a perpetual pension of £500 of rent. The excess of fertility of Adam's land is thenceforth recognized as rent and paid, as it is to-day, regularly by a worker to a drone.

The Origin of the County Family.

So Adam is retiring from productive industry on £500 a year; and his neighbors are hastening to imitate him as fresh tenants present themselves. ~~The first result is the beginning of a tradition that the oldest families in the country enjoy a superior position to the rest, and that the main advantage of their superior position is that they enjoy incomes without working.~~ Nevertheless, since they still depend upon their tenants' labor for their subsistence, they continue to pay Labor, with a capital L, a certain meed of mouth honor; and the resultant association of prosperity with idleness, and praise with industry, practically destroys morality by setting up that incompatibility between conduct and principle which is the secret of the ingrained cynicism of our own time.

According to our hypothesis, the area of cultivation has now spread into the wilderness so far that at its margin the return for a man's labor for a year is only £500. But it will not stop there; it will at last encroach upon every acre of cultivable land, rising to the snow line on the mountains and falling to the coast of the actual salt water sea, ~~but always reaching the barrenest places last of all, because the cultivators will not break bad land when better is to be~~

had. But suppose that now, at last, the uttermost belt of free land is reached, and that upon it the yield to a man's year's labor is only £100. Clearly now the rent of Adam's primeval patch has risen to £900, since that is the excess of its produce over what is by this time all that is to be had rent free.

Dual Ownership.

Adam has yielded up his land for £500 a year to a tenant. It is this tenant accordingly who now lets Adam's patch for £900 a year to the newcomer, who of course loses nothing by the bargain, since it leaves him the £100 a year, with which he must be content any way. It has, in fact, come to this, that the private property in Adam's land is divided between three men, the first doing none of the work and getting half the produce; the second doing none of the work and getting two-fifths of the produce; and the third doing all the work and getting only one-tenth of the produce. Here is private property in full swing, produced (let us emphasize the fact) not in the least by "human nature," but by the natural working of economic laws of which the settlers were unconscious. Probably if the first colonists when they were still on their original patches had been asked "would you tolerate a state of things in which there should be not only loafers, but in which the loafers should be the richest people in the country," they would have repudiated the idea with profound and genuine indignation.*

All this, however, is a mere trifle compared with the sequel. When the total cultivable area has reached its confines; when there is nothing but a strip of sand round the coast between the furrow and the wave; when the very waves themselves are cultivated by fisherfolk; when the pastures and timber forests have touched the snow line; when, in short, the land is all private property, there appears a man in a strange plight: one who wanders from snow line to sea coast in search of land, and finds none that is not the property of someone else. On the roads he is a vagrant: off them he is a trespasser: he is the first proletarian.

Rent of Ability.

Now it may be that this second Adam, the first father of the great proletariat, has one of those scarce brains which are not the least of nature's gifts. If the fertile field yields rent, why not the fertile brain? Here is the first Adam's patch still yielding its £1,000 to the labor of the tenant who, as we have seen, has to pay

* The reader will observe that, to avoid complications, no mention has been made of capital as such. The monopoly of land produces the monopoly of capital. All capital begins as spare money, no matter what it may finally be turned into: mines, railways, canals, houses. In the first instance the possession of capital always means that some individual has received more rent than he desires or chooses to spend. Colloquially, one property with a farm on it is said to be land yielding rent; whilst another, with a railway on it, is called capital yielding interest. But economically there is no distinction between them when they once become sources of revenue. Shareholder and landlord live alike on the produce extracted from their property by the labor of the proletariat.

£900 away in rent. How if the proletarian were boldly to bid £1,000 a year to that man for that property and contrive—invent—anticipate a new want—turn the land to some hitherto undreamed of use—wrest £1,500 a year from the soil and site that only yielded £1,000 before? If he can do this, he can pay the full £1,000 rent, and have an income of £500 left for himself. This is his profit—the rent of his ability—the excess of its produce over that which it would yield to ordinary stupidity.

Origin of the Proletariat.

But in due replenishment of the earth there follows upon the footsteps of this first proletarian another who is no cleverer than other men, and can do as much, but not more, than they. For him there is no rent of ability. What is to be his fate? It is certain that by this time not only will the new devices of the renter of ability have been copied by people incapable of inventing them, but division of labor, the use of tools and money, and the economies of civilization will have greatly increased man's power of extracting wealth from nature. So that it may well be that the produce of land on the margin of cultivation, which, as we have seen, fixes the produce left to the cultivators throughout the whole area, may rise considerably.

Scarcity Value.

This rise has nothing to do with the margin of cultivation. It is not the difference between the best and worst land. It is not, put it technically, "economic rent." It is a payment for the privilege of using land at all—for access to that which is now a close monopoly; and its amount is regulated, not by what the purchaser could do for himself on land of his own at the margin, but simply by the landowner's eagerness to be idle on the one hand, and the proletarian's need of subsistence on the other. In current economic terms the price is regulated by supply and demand. As the demand for land intensifies by the advent of fresh proletarians, the price goes up and the bargains are made more stringent. Sooner or later the price of tenant right will rise so high that the actual cultivator will get no more of the produce than suffices him for subsistence. At that point there is an end of sub-letting tenant rights. The land's absorption of the proletarians as tenants paying more than the economic rent stops.

Advent of the Proletarian.

And now what is the next proletarian to do? For all his fore-runners we have found a way of escape; for him there seems none, for where is his subsistence to come from, if he cannot get at the land? Food he must have, and clothing; and both promptly. There is food in the market, and clothing also; but not for nothing. Hard money must be paid for them, and money can only be procured by selling commodities. This presents no difficulty to the cultivators of the land, who can raise commodities by their labor, but the proletarian, being landless, has neither commodities nor the

means of producing them. Sell something he must: yet he has nothing to sell—*except himself.*

The first “Hand”: “Laborer”: “Mechanic”:
“Servant”: “Wage-Slave.”

The idea seems a desperate one; but it proves quite easy to carry out. The tenant cultivators of the land have not strength enough or time enough to exhaust the productive capacity of their holdings. If they could buy men in the market for less than the sum that these men’s labor would add to the produce, then their purchase would be sheer gain. Never in the history of buying and selling was there so splendid a bargain for buyers as this. Accordingly the proletarian no sooner offers himself for sale in “a new country” than he finds a rush of bidders for him, each striving to get the better of the others by offering to give him more and more of the produce of his labor, and to content themselves with less and less of the surplus. ~~But even the highest bidder must have some surplus or he will not buy.~~ The proletarian, in accepting the highest bid, sells himself openly into bondage. He is not the first man who has done so; for it is evident that his forerunners, the purchasers of tenant right, had been enslaved by the proprietors who lived on the rents paid by them. But now all the disguise falls off: the proletarian renounces not only the fruit of his labor, but also the right to think for himself and to direct his industry as he pleases. The economic change is merely formal: the moral change is enormous. We shall see presently what happens in “an old country” when the rush of buyers of labor becomes a rush of sellers.

BONDAGE SLAVERY

PART II.—VALUE.

It is evident that in our imaginary colony labor power is now in the market on the same footing as any other ware exposed for sale: it can be purchased as men purchase a horse or a steam engine, a bottle of wine or a pair of boots.

Exchange Value of Human Beings.

Since human labor therefore turns out to be a commodity, marketable just as a basket of eggs or a woollen shirt is marketable, if we want to know what is going to happen to our proletarian in a state owned by private individuals, as our colony is owned, we must proceed to find out what fixes the price of commodities in general (since his price will be fixed in the same way); and what causes the series of arrangements between buyers and sellers which have been named “supply and demand,” for our proletarian is now supplying *himself* in answer to a demand.

Contradictions and difficulties soon show themselves.

It would seem on the surface that the selling value, or exchange value, of anything must depend upon its utility, ~~for no one will buy a useless thing.~~ Yet fresh air and sunlight, which are so useful as to be quite indispensable, have no money value; whilst for a

meteoric stone, shot free of charge from the firmament into your back garden, the curator of a museum will give you a considerable sum. A little reflection will show that this depends upon the fact that fresh air is plentiful and meteoric stones scarce.

Scarcity Value.

If by any means the supply of fresh air could be steadily diminished, and the supply of meteoric stones, by celestial cannonade or otherwise, steadily increased, the fresh air would presently acquire an exchange value which would gradually rise; whilst the exchange value of meteoric stones would gradually fall, until at last fresh air would be supplied through a meter and charged for like gas, and meteoric stones would become as unsaleable as ordinary pebbles. The money (or exchange) value, in fact, decreases as the supply increases; or, in other words, as the supply pours in the demand falls off, until finally, if the supply continues to pour in, the demand ceases altogether and what is left of the supply is valueless.

How Exchange Value is Fixed.

But besides this fact of the exchange value of any commodity being dependent upon the amount there is of it in any market at any one time, another equally important fact must be carefully mastered, viz., that the value of our commodity is fixed not by the rarest and most useful part of the stock of it, but by the least costly and least useful. This can be explained quite simply by an illustration. If the stock of umbrellas in the market were all alike and sufficiently large to provide two for each umbrella carrier in the community, then, since a second umbrella is not so necessary as the first, the instinctive course would be to ticket half the umbrellas at, say 15s., and the other half at 8s. 6d. But no man will give 15s. for an article which he can get for 8s. 6d.; and when people came to buy, they would buy up all the 8s. 6d. umbrellas. Each person being thus supplied with an umbrella, the remainder of the stock, though marked 15s., would be in the position of second umbrellas, only worth 8s. 6d. It may very likely occur to the reader that if he was the seller of umbrellas, he would charge 15s. all round and put away half his stock until the number of umbrellas actually and immediately necessary to his fellow townsmen was sold. But a moment's reflection will remind him that there will be other tradesmen in the town who sell umbrellas. In the next street will be a shop where umbrellas can be purchased for 10s. 6d., and near by another where they can be had for 7s. 6d.; so that, granted all the umbrellas are of the same quality, the customers will go to the shop where they are to be had for 7s. 6d., and my reader's 15s. ones will remain on his hands unsold.* The only limit to this "competition" is obviously the actual cost of the manufacture of the umbrella. One more illustration of a different kind. You want to get and sell

* There is indeed another way. The reader might buy up all the umbrellas in the town and arrange that none should be brought in from anywhere else. This is to "corner" the market—but that is another story.

coal. You begin by going to the point where coal is on the surface—where you can shovel it up with ease. But when that supply is exhausted, you must sink a shaft; you must burrow under ground, eviscerate mountains, tunnel beneath the sea, at an enormous cost in machinery and labor. Yet when you have made your greatest effort, another man may still be in possession of a mine near the surface where he gets his coal for half, a quarter, a tithe of the labor you expend upon yours. In spite of this, when you both bring your coal to market and offer your supplies for sale, you cannot say “I have been at great expense to get mine and I will charge 20s. a ton.” Your rival is offering his for 15s. a ton, and you must sell at the same price or you will get no customers. Let us suppose that it has cost you 18s. per ton to get your coal, and that it has cost him 5s. per ton to get his; ~~the whole difference between the 5s. and the 18s. is economic rent gained by him, not by superior industry or ability (for it is you who have had these), but by the fact of his privately owned coal mine being in a more advantageous situation than yours. In this manner the exchange value of the least useful and least costly part of the supply fixes the exchange value of all the rest.~~

The Law of Indifference.—Final Utility (Marginal Utility).

Technically this is called the Law of Indifference. And since the least useful unit of the supply is generally that which is last produced, its utility is called the *final utility* of the commodity.

Total Utility.

The utility of the first and most useful unit is called the *total utility* of the commodity.* The main point to be grasped is, that however useful any commodity may be, ~~its exchange value can be run down to nothing by increasing the supply until there is more of it than is wanted.~~ The excess, being useless and valueless, is to be had for nothing; and nobody will pay anything for a commodity so long as plenty of it is to be had for nothing. This is why air and other indispensable things have no exchange value, whilst scarce gewgaws fetch immense prices.

These, then, are the conditions which confront man as a producer and exchanger. If he produces a useless thing, his labor will be wholly in vain: he will get nothing for it. If he produces a useful thing, the price he will get for it will depend on how much of it there is for sale already. This holds good of the whole mass of manufactured commodities. Those which are scarce, and therefore relatively high in value, tempt men to produce them until the increase of the supply reduces their value to a point at which there is no more profit to be made out of them than out of other commodities. And this process, unless deliberately interfered with, goes on until the price of all commodities is brought down to their cost of production.

* Some economists, transferring from cultivation to utility our old metaphor of the spreading pool, call final utility “marginal” utility.

Cost of Production.

But he sets a new question. What does the *cost of production* mean?

We have seen that, owing to the differences in fertility and advantage of situation between one piece of land and another, cost of production varies from district to district, being highest at the margin of cultivation. But we have also seen how the landlord skims off as (economic) rent all the advantage gained by the cultivators of superior sites and soils. Consequently, the addition of the landlord's rent to the expenses of production brings those expenses up even on the best land to the level of those incurred on the worst. Cost of production, then, means cost of production at the margin of cultivation, and is equalized to all producers, since what they may save in labor in favorable situations is counterbalanced by the greater amount of rent they have to pay in those situations. So far from commodities exchanging, or tending to exchange (as some economists allege that they do), according to the labor expended in their production, commodities produced in the most favorable situations, well inside the margin of cultivation, with the minimum of labor, will fetch as high a price as commodities produced at the margin with the maximum of labor. *And all the difference between the two goes to the landlord.* So man's control over the value of commodities consists solely in his power of regulating their supply. ~~Individuals are constantly trying to decrease supply for their own advantage.~~ Gigantic conspiracies have been entered into to forestall the world's wheat and cotton harvests, in order to force their value to the highest possible point. Cargoes of East Indian spices have been destroyed by the Dutch as cargoes of fish are now destroyed in the Thames, to maintain prices by limiting supply. All rings, trusts, corners, combinations, monopolies, and trade secrets have the same object.

The Vital Point.

Now we have come to the most important part of this paper: the part which will explain why ~~we Socialists are attacking this private monopoly system—this capitalist system—this *laissez faire* system—with all our strength and ingenuity.~~ Go back to our proletarian. We found that he had come to our colony when all the land, from the sea to the snow line was occupied and owned; when the utmost rent of ability had been screwed out of it; and when its scarcity value had been exploited to the last penny. It was therefore impossible for him to produce any of the commodities by the sale (or exchange) of which men live. But we found that he had one commodity the sale of which he could effect with ease—the sale of himself. We found that men ("laborers," "hands," "mechanics," "working men," "servants"—how expressive words are!) were in the market, and traffic in them could be carried on precisely on the same terms as traffic in any other commodity.

Now reflect for a moment upon the laws we have been examining which regulate the exchange of commodities. We found that "if

the supply continues to pour in, the demand ceases altogether, and what is left of the supply is valueless." We also found that, by the Law of Indifference, "the exchange value of the least useful part of the supply fixes the exchange value of all the rest." What will be the result of the action of these laws upon the human commodity we have called a proletarian? The commodity he deals in is one over the supply of which he himself has practically no control. True, at first there is only one of him in our colony; but others pour in, population increases by leaps and bounds, soon there are twenty, one hundred, one thousand, five thousand, and men continue so to multiply that their exchange value falls slowly and surely until it disappears altogether. This is the condition of our English laborers to-day: they are no longer even dirt cheap: they are valueless. The proof of this is the existence of the unemployed, who can be had for nothing.

You will immediately say "no labor can be had for nothing": you will very likely add that you "wish it could," and instance the high wages given to "hands" and "servants." The answer is deplorably simple. Suppose horses multiplied in England in such quantities that they were to be had for the asking, like kittens condemned to the bucket. You would still have to feed your horse—feed him well if you used him as a smart hunter—feed him and lodge him wretchedly if you used him only as a drudge. But the cost of his keep would not mean that the horse had an exchange value. If you got him for nothing in the first instance, if no one would give you anything for him when you had done with him, he would be worth nothing, in spite of the cost of his keep. That is just the case of every member of the proletariat who could be replaced by one of the unemployed to-day. Their wage is not the price of themselves, for they are worth nothing; it is only their keep. If you have to give your footman a better allowance than your wretched hewer of wood, it is for the same reason that you have to give your hunter oats and a clean stall instead of chopped straw and a sty.

The Capitalist System Guilty.

This, then, is the economic analysis which convicts private property of being unjust from the beginning, and utterly impossible as a final solution of the problem of the distribution of wealth. All attempts yet made to construct true societies upon it have failed: the nearest things to societies so achieved have been civilizations which have rotted into centres of vice and luxury, and eventually been swept away by uncivilized races. It is sometimes said that during this grotesquely hideous march of civilization from bad to worse, wealth is increasing side by side with misery. Such a thing is eternally impossible; wealth is steadily decreasing with the spread of poverty. But riches are increasing, which is quite another thing. The total of the exchange values produced in this country is mounting, perhaps, by leaps and bounds. But the accumulation of riches, and consequently of excessive purchasing power

in the hands of one class, soon satiates that class with socially useful wealth, and sets it offering a price for luxuries. Luxuries are not social wealth: the machinery for producing them is not social wealth: labor skilled only to manufacture them is not socially useful labor: the men, women, and children who make a living by producing them are no more self-supporting than the idle rich for whose amusement they are kept at work. It is the habit of counting as wealth the exchange values involved in these transactions that makes us fancy that the poor are starving in the midst of plenty. They are starving in the midst of plenty of jewels, velvets, laces, equipages, and racehorses; but not in the midst of plenty of food. In the things that are wanted for the welfare of the people England is abjectly poor. Yet private property, by its nature, must still heap the purchasing power upon the few rich and withhold it from the many poor.

Conclusion.

Now Socialism claims to have discovered in this private appropriation of land the source of those unjust privileges which the Socialists seek to abolish. They assert that *public property in land and the means of production is the basic economic condition of Socialism*. How the economic change from private to public ownership can be brought about with the least suffering to individuals does not come within the scope of this paper; but if we have got as far as an intellectual conviction that the source of our social misery is no eternal wellspring of confusion and evil, not the depravity of human nature or the hardness of human hearts, but only an artificial system susceptible of almost infinite modification and readjustment—nay, of practical demolition and rearrangement at the will of man, then a terrible weight will be lifted from the minds of all except those who are clinging to the present state of things from base motives. It is to economic science—once the dismal, now the hopeful—that we are indebted for the discovery that though the evil is enormously worse than we knew, yet it is not eternal—not even very long lived, if we only bestir ourselves to make an end of it.

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MACHINERY: ITS MASTERS AND ITS SERVANTS.

"It was through machinery," wrote Toynbee in his "Industrial Revolution," "that the population was drawn out of cottages in distant valleys by secluded streams and driven together into factories and cities."

The "Industrial Revolution" was published as far back as 1884, and since then economists and historians have constantly borne witness to the immense and far-reaching results of the introduction of machinery; but society has, as yet, come to no conclusion on the question, how far machinery as a means of stimulating and satisfying the material and moral needs of a progressive community is really valuable. Unfortunately, there is little hope that society will be able to make up its mind on the point; for even its more progressive members, its statesmen and reformers, have, so far, failed to realize the importance of machinery as a factor in what is optimistically called "modern civilization."

Society is becoming to an increasing extent a machine created and machine supported organism. While moralists and politicians are discussing the social welfare, mechanical appliances are continually producing fresh social problems and are offering new remedies.

It is not surprising that the Victorians, astounded by the great revelations of power which machinery held out to them, could see few blemishes in that great force. Nineteenth century optimism and laissez faire, like twentieth century Collectivism, was largely a machine made product. It was an age of machine worship; now we have become more sceptical.

For it is coming to be recognized that great as are the gifts of machinery in endowing man with new liberties, in amplifying his senses and thoughts, they have been, for the greater part, the endowments of the wealthy alone. The man without means is a machineless man, he is a primitive; he can travel on his feet alone, he can hear only with his ears. The railway and the telephone are the monopolies of the more wealthy.

As men increase in wealth, so is their power over nature augmented, while those very persons who spend their lives in minding machinery, who are often killed, maimed, or poisoned by it, are the very ones least able to avail themselves of its services.

But if the introduction of machinery has been the cause of great and unnecessary human suffering, it has also conferred great benefits upon the working classes through facilities for travel, the provision of cheap books, the material means of education, and generally by

their now wider outlook upon life. As all these are largely due to machinery, the modern social reformer, while repudiating the shallow optimism of the Manchester School, knows that he cannot put back the clock and revive the Middle Ages.

In any case we must realize that machinery has come to stay. The very fact that the enormous increase of population in the last 150 years dates definitely from the beginning of the "industrial revolution," and is, for the most part, due to the development of machine production, shows that any return to less copious methods in the manufacture of the prime necessities of life is out of the question.*

Again, foreign trade, the necessity to obtain by exchange commodities which cannot conveniently be produced at home, demands an ever increasing efficiency and economy in competitive international export production; a necessity which further commits us to the use of highly specialized appliances.

But great as have been the changes effected by machinery in the past, its influence upon the social organism is by no means exhausted, and even greater changes may be looked for in the future.

In endowing man with increased powers over the material world, machinery has only hastened his evolution. Its advent was a necessary and inevitable step of human development, for it is, to a great extent, through the reaction of material progress upon man that spiritual progress will be attained.

Already the fast ocean-going freight steamer, the railway train, and industrial machinery in general, have made possible the growth of world markets, the inter-dependence of nations, and the inter-communication of one country with another, with the result that workers all over the world are beginning to recognize the singleness of their aims, and to feel a disinclination for war.

Thus machinery, which, in the hands of irresponsible people, has proved so potent a factor in creating modern industrial life, with its hideous factories, barrack-like buildings called workmen's homes, and dreary congested manufacturing towns, and which has caused the depopulation of the countryside through the urbanizing of the agricultural laborer, must, by demanding ever greater organization, higher capacity and wider education for its successful exploitation, eventually bring about a change of outlook in the minds of the industrial workers.

They will come to see that machinery, to the manipulation of which they devote so large a portion of their lives, far from being their servant, has, in the hands of the capitalist, limited liability company and trust, been used mainly for the enrichment and satisfaction of a small privileged class and for their more complete subjection.

* Before 1751 (though prior to 1801 we have to depend on estimates only) the largest decennial increase was 3 per cent. For each of the next three decennial periods the increase was 6 per cent. Then between 1781 and 1791 it was 9 per cent.; 1791 to 1801, 11 per cent.; 1801 to 1811, 14 per cent.; 1811 to 1821, 18 per cent. After this the normal rate of increase, owing to emigration, fell to 12 per cent.; 1821 to 1831, 15·8 per cent.; 1831 to 1841, 14·4 per cent.; 1841 to 1851, 12·89 per cent.; 1851 to 1861, 11·9 per cent.; 1861 to 1871, 13·21 per cent.; 1871 to 1881, 14·36 per cent.; 1881 to 1891, 11·65 per cent.; 1891 to 1901, 12·17 per cent. (Census Returns for England and Wales.)

I.—MACHINERY UNDER THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF PRODUCTION FOR PRIVATE PROFIT.

So greatly indeed has machinery increased the capacity of man to utilize the forces of nature for his own purposes, that were no further advances to be expected in mechanical discovery, our present power and knowledge, if rightly used, would be more than sufficient to guarantee a minimum of decent comfort to every member of the community.

Nevertheless it is unfortunately only too evident that although machinery has given us the means of satisfying all reasonable material needs, and this with an economy of labor which gives us ample time to satisfy and develop our more spiritual desires, although we have the means, the end seems very far from attainment.

To realize not only why this is so, but, further, why, far from being a blessing, machinery very often proves a curse and causes much needless human suffering, it is necessary to examine those conditions which more immediately determine why, when, and where machinery shall be employed, how it shall be used, and to what purposes it is put.

Why Machinery is Produced.

Its existence is, in the last resort, dependent upon the inventor. Few large employers of labor, although they may know very well what they want, have either the time or ability to think out or perfect machines which will meet those wants.

But, like any other commodity, machinery obeys the laws of supply and demand; and since the demand for labor saving machinery comes from the capitalist with a view to cheaper production, its appearance primarily depends upon its prospects as a profit maker.

Thus the tendency is for inventors (who, like any other producers wishing to sell in the open market, must produce saleable goods or starve) to devote their inventive faculties to the evolution of labor saving machinery.

It follows then that, with the exception of such small demands as are made for appliances for scientific and other non-commercial purposes, the inventive brains of the world are in great part confined to the production of such machinery as will expeditiously supplant the dearer and less dependable manual labor.

Though great epoch making discoveries have, in response to no capitalist demand, from time to time revolutionized the industrial world, by far the greater part of invention has not been done by the actual "discoverers," who are but few and far between, but by the ordinary run of engineers, who, one inventor developing this, another modifying that, improve upon the original conception until a highly efficient machine, the product not of one man, but of many, is evolved.*

* See "The Evolution of Modern Capitalism," J. A. Hobson, ch. iv. § 6.

This is the process of evolution of most industrial machinery. The highly specialized machines of to-day are but the result of many inventors working upon the original discoveries of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.*

But even the original discoverer, although he may not be directly affected by the unsocial profit seeking demand of the manufacturer, falls a victim to the system of society created by private capitalism. For since in many cases he must obtain the aid of the financier before he can even perfect his invention or produce it as a saleable commodity, it invariably happens that the financier exploits him and his invention for his own individual profit, with no idea of social service. Even when the inventor is in a position to be his own capitalist, living in a world of profit seeking, he does as he sees others doing, and puts his invention on the market in such a way as will ensure his realizing the highest returns. Although the immediate general use of the invention might be of the greatest advantage to society, its sale is regulated by one consideration only, that of making as much money as possible. The method being first to place it on the market in small quantities at a high price, this price is maintained until it has drawn its full toll from the comparatively few members of society who can afford to buy at that price. It is then sold at a lower figure in larger quantities till that wider grade of demand shows signs of being satisfied. Then, if the cost of production will allow of it, the process of lowering the sale price and increasing the output is again repeated; and so on till it is discovered at what price and in what quantities it will return the highest profits to its exploiters.

Thus we see, firstly, that the inventor himself cannot rightly lay claim to be solely responsible for the invention of his machine, and demand the full economic advantage afforded to society by its use, but is himself a social product whose power to invent is due to the fact that others have invented before him, and thus given him something upon which he may improve; secondly, that unless he is one of those few rich inventors who are independent of the capitalist, he cannot, even if he would, extort what has been called his "rent of ability" from the sale of his machine, but is compelled to ask the financier's help to enable him to put it on the market. In which case he often finds that, after paying the cost of production and such profit as the manufacturer, the middleman, and the financier claim as their respective shares of the booty, there is very little left for himself.

In fact many an inventor would be pleased to get anything at all. The intelligent workman in the factory who devises some small improvement in the method of production often sees his invention put into use without himself being a penny the richer.

And, lastly, we see that since it is generally left to the tender mercies of the capitalist to shape the direction in which inventive genius shall be expended, and to determine when and how an

* Even in 1857 cotton spinning machinery was supposed to be a compound of about eight hundred inventions, and the carding machinery a compound of sixty patents. (Hodge's evidence before House of Lords Committee, 1857).

invention shall be given to the world, society as a whole is in a very weak position, and must often wait his pleasure for some invention the immediate adoption and development of which would be of the greatest social service; and that when it is eventually placed upon the market, it is engineered in such a way as to ensure that society shall pay the full price.

This, then, is how the system of production for private profit reacts harmfully upon both the individual inventor and the whole community.

When and Where Machinery is Employed.

While there exist certain industries where work of great accuracy is essential and which consequently are almost entirely dependent upon machinery for their existence; while on the other hand there are many undertakings of a quasi-artistic nature in which the human equation effectively forbids the employment of mechanical methods, such as some metal trades and in pottery and glass-making, where personal skill is still needful, it will be found that the great mass of machinery has been devoted to supplanting routine manual labor.

A most striking proof of the connection between cheap labor and handwork is furnished by the case of a large printing works, visited by an investigator appointed by the Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, 1904, where women were employed in folding one of the illustrated weekly papers. Folding machines which required men to tend them were standing idle in the department and were used only when folding had to be done at the times when the Factory Law prohibited the cheaper labor of the women.

"The general economies of machinery," says Mr. J. A. Hobson, "are found to be two. (1) The increased quantity of motive force it can apply to industry. (2) Greater exactitude in the regular application of motive force (a) in time—the exact repetition of the same acts at regulated intervals; (b) in place—exact repetition of the same movements in space. All the advantages imputed to machinery in the economy of human time, the utilization of waste material, the display of concentrated force, or the delicacy of manipulation, are derivable from these two general economies." ("Evolution of Modern Capitalism," Hobson, ch. iv., p. 66.)

Hence, wherever the efficiency of labor depends chiefly upon the output of muscular force in motive power, or precision in the regulation of such force, human labor will, sooner or later, give way to machines.

But there are other factors which determine whether machinery shall supersede hand labor. There is the effect of the Factory Acts. These have had influence in two ways:—

Directly, by hastening the introduction of labor-saving processes in small firms, when it might otherwise be delayed. Here machinery is often only employed when restrictions as to hours of labor begin to be felt. The restrictions placed upon child labor by limiting the legal working day in tobacco trades caused the introduction of steam power to turn the spinning wheels. The same result followed from the Act of 1864 in lucifer match factories; and at the present day the most complicated American machinery is used in some lucifer

match works, hand labor merely feeding the machines and placing the match boxes in their outer covers. This machinery has evidently been introduced owing to trade competition, but there is no doubt that besides the effect of the restrictions on child labor, the special rules in force in regard to lucifer match factories have stimulated the introduction of machinery which reduces the danger of phosphorus poisoning to a minimum.

In letterpress printing works and in paper and envelope-making works machinery has been introduced to obviate the inconvenience arising from the restriction on overtime employment.

These are but single instances of a tendency which must be at work wherever employers are precluded from competing with one another by means of long hours and low wages. The only resource then left to them is to compete by means of improved industrial methods ; and thus :

Indirectly, by giving competition an upward tendency, the Factory Acts have produced a demand for more and continual improvements in machinery.

Again, machinery is expensive ; the return on outlay if great, is slow, and to some extent doubtful. In order that the factory may be run profitably, it is imperative that the demand for its products shall be continuous. Much expensive machinery will only save labor when it is used to assist in producing a large output which can find a steady market.

During the last fifty years a larger and larger proportion of machinery has been devoted to the construction of further machinery for industrial purposes. That is in itself a highly speculative undertaking, and therefore it has become increasingly necessary in the interests of profitable production that sporadic competition should be suppressed and demand regularized and we see in the trust and combine a final effort on the part of the capitalist to achieve that artificial regularity of production, which the expenses and maintenance of enormous machine plants have rendered inevitable.

Finally, then, machinery has come to be devoted almost solely to labor saving ; which function it can only perform successfully when both the quality and quantity of its product are steady and constant and not open to sudden, unforeseen fluctuations.

The Conditions under which Machinists Labor.

Machinery, if its use be not carefully regulated and supervised, is often highly dangerous. At present mechanical production in this country results in the sacrifice of no less than over a thousand lives and over ninety thousand reported accidents in each year : 4,221 persons were killed and 116,439 injured in one year (1903) in all industrial accidents. ("Riches and Poverty," Money, p. 124.)

Although agitation has already produced some regulations for the fencing of dangerous machinery, and done something to protect the worker from the ruthlessness of competitive individualism, each year brings forth its long list of casualties and deaths.

In 1908, the total number of accidents occurring in factories and workshops in England and Wales amounted to 122,154, of which 1,042 were fatal. In 1898 the total reported was 57,562, of which

727 were fatal. 727 cases of poisoning are reported for 1908 as against 653 for 1907.

The Board of Trade Report on Railway Accidents during the year 1908 shows that 384 railway servants were killed and 5,140 injured by accidents on the lines. In 1904, ten were killed and 542 injured whilst coupling or uncoupling vehicles. In 1907, one shunter in every thirteen was killed or injured at his work on the railway; and yet the automatic coupling and some improved and uniform brake for goods wagons still remain to be adopted by the railway companies of England. It is because it would put the companies to *too great expense* that nothing is done in the matter.

In the Factory Report for 1908 it is pointed out, in connection with the steady increase in the number of reported accidents that, besides the constant tendency in factories to substitute power machines for manual work, and to increase the speed of machines generally, there is a further tendency noticeable in many factories, which also affects the accident rates. Very many new milling machines have recently been installed to do work that was formerly done by the safer and slower shaping, planing, and slotting machines, and by certain types of lathes. The use of power presses is also increasing. These dangerous machines are now used for much work that was previously done by forging and casting processes and by hand.

The actual number of accidents is far greater than the official returns would lead us to suppose; for many slight accidents are not reported, though such casualties may often develop later into a permanent partial disablement. The published returns of the fatal accidents to railway servants fall far short of the truth, because only those accidents which cause rapid death are reported as fatal.

The Deputy Chief Inspector of Factories for 1908 states that higher speed, increased use of machinery, and better reporting have all had a tendency of recent years to keep up the number of recorded accidents, and to obscure to a certain extent the fact that working conditions as regards machinery are relatively safer now than they were some years ago. The changes in the law introduced by the Notice of Accidents Act, 1906, are not yet properly understood, and, comparatively speaking, very few "dangerous occurrences," *i.e.*, certain accidents without injury to persons, have been notified. A number of accidents due to cuts and scratches, which are of daily occurrence in large works, and so slight as not to interfere with work for more than an hour or so at the time, now become reportable under the Act, because, owing to want of care or proper dressing, inflammation or blood poisoning is often set up, and causes prolonged absence from work at a later period. Several inspectors attribute accidents to recklessness and disobedience on the part of workers, though the lady inspectors do not agree with this opinion as regards laundries. It is no doubt true, however, that serious accidents are sometimes brought about by the workers' own recklessness; but this is contributed to in some industries by the system of piecework now so prevalent.

The "economies" resorted to by the individual employer in his desire to reduce the costs of production to a minimum are respon-

sible for a large proportion of accidents. In the Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops, 1904, a table is given showing that the greatest number of accidents in laundries occur when the operative is most fatigued, in the hour before dinner and in the later period of the afternoon spell. The long hours of arduous work result in carelessness, and so in accidents.

In the same report for 1906 it is pointed out that whereas the total number of accidents affecting men and boys stands in 1906 at the mean figure for five years, the number affecting women and girls has risen by nine above the mean figure. This is due to the growing use of ironing machinery and the increasing employment of young unskilled girls in working and cleaning it. The report of the Departmental Committee appointed to enquire into the dangers attendant on building operations, 1907, shows that a large number of accidents are preventable, and are due to the lack of competent foremen and skilled supervision and the putting of unskilled men to skilled work for the sake of cheapness.

Further, in 1908 there were only 200 inspectors to supervise 260,000 factories, an average of 1,300 for each inspector, and it is notorious that when factories have been immune from inspection for a considerable time even the statutory accidents fail to get reported.*

Moreover, apart from casualties, the optimistic conclusions of Professor Marshall as to the beneficial effects of machinery in lessening the strain upon the worker engaged in monotonous occupation † is open to the objection that though machinery undoubtedly diminishes the purely muscular strain, there is evidence to show that it taxes the nervous vigor of the operative quite as severely as the old manual work, for the intensity of modern competition forces the organizers of labor to extract as much out of their employees as they possibly can. Even where there has been a reduction in the hours of the working day, it does not follow that the amount of energy required of the workers is any less.

But many workers still toil for excessive hours. The prosperous artisans who have nominally won the nine hours day form but a small minority. The men who work on the tramcars in our

* According to a return published by the Board of Trade the total number of deaths from industrial accidents reported in 1908 was 4,224, a decrease of 253 on 1907, but an increase of 29 on the mean of the five years 1904-8. A decrease is recorded in every group of occupations except mining and quarrying. The results show the mean annual death-rate from accidents per 10,000 employed in each group of trades, and are given in the following table:—

Seamen	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	50·4
Miners	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	13·2
Quarrymen	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10·6
Railway Servants	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7·5
Non-Textile Factory and Workshop Operatives	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2·2
Textile Factory Operatives	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0·8
For all Occupations enumerated above	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6·3

The industries included in this table employed over six millions of workpeople.

During 1908, 35,000 workmen were killed and 2,000,000 injured in the United States of America. One person in every eight families sustained injuries. The Labor Bureau Report suggests that America is behind Europe in safeguarding the lives of operatives, and declares that one-half to one-third of these casualties could have been avoided by rational factory legislation, inspection, and control.

† "Principles of Economics," pp. 314, 322, Professor Marshall. Second edition.

cities are often on duty for at least fourteen hours a day, without including meal times. Nearly all the great railway companies have thousands of men at work for twelve hours at a stretch, with a great deal of Sunday labor. Until the coming into force of the Miners Eight Hours Act, 1908, many even of the coal hewers were underground for more than nine hours a day; and there are other classes of machine workers, such as blastfurnace men and steel workers, whose day's labor normally is at least twelve hours. Even when, as in the case of the engineer, the normal hours of labor have in some places been reduced from sixty to fifty per week, this reduction has been largely neutralized by overtime.

The Effect of Labor Saving Machinery upon Employment.

It is not only with the loss of life and limb and the exhausted bodies of the overtaxed factory hand that the penalty of modern industrialism is paid.

Such existence even as the workman is able to maintain when in employment is always affected by the uncertainty of his occupation, an uncertainty dependent upon external causes, over which he has no control whatever. Subject, perhaps, merely to the whim of his employer, to a change of fashion, to the very advance of those methods of machine power and process which should rightly bring him shorter hours and lighter labor—his living is in the highest degree precarious.

Under the stress of competition, and, perhaps, in some way due to such Acts as the Workmen's Compensation Act, there is a growing tendency among employers to scrutinize very carefully the men whom they take into their service, in order that, in return for the standard rates of wages they have to pay, they may get the most efficient workmen. Thus it becomes increasingly difficult for the worker in any way below the average to obtain employment at all.

Though it is true that the supplanting of hand labor by machinery has not lessened the demand for labor as a whole, yet it is undeniable that the individual worker often suffers under the change. The floating of new inventions results in dislocation of employment and in unemployment, with all the suffering they entail.*

The displacement of the hand weaver by the power loom, the slow but sure death of the chain and nail trade in the "Black Country," the substitution of cheap female labor in the Leicester boot factories to attend power driven machinery in the place of the former male hand work, the rise of the motor driven cab, are but instances of this inevitable tendency.†

* See "Unemployment: a Problem of Industry," by W. H. Beveridge. 1909, p. 111, under "Employment of Declining Trades"; Minority Report, Poor Law Commission, 1909, p. 1147; "Final Report on Industrial and Sanitary Conditions to Pauperism," by Steel Maitland and Squire.

† In 1908 as many as 2,925 taxicabs were licensed to ply for hire in the streets of London, an increase of 2,202 upon 1907. In the same twelve months the number of hansom cabs licensed decreased by 1,205; since 1903 the number of hansoms has declined by 2,752. Besides the actual cabdrivers, the motor car is displacing grooms, harness makers, stablemen, and others.

Except through Trade Union action the worker has derived little or no benefit in wages from improvements in machinery, from cheaper output; the surplus profit produced by greater efficiency of production and transit goes inevitably into the pockets of the capitalist and landlord. Hours of labor grow no shorter, toil becomes no less degrading and onerous, that compensation which at times flows so generously into the coffers of the monopolist, benefits in no way the employee, when the industry in which he is engaged is discontinued through no fault of his own. His wages are beaten down, his labor often supplanted by that of his wife and children, with the consequent injury to their health and physical deterioration in following generations.

For it is evident that the married woman who all day long has to work hard in a mill or factory can have but little energy left at the end of the day for housework, for looking after the needs of her children, or even for fitting herself for the rearing of a family.

The children accordingly are given unsuitable food and but scanty attention. They are not brought up at all; they are dragged up, or left to get along as best they can. It is a common thing for mothers while away at work to lock their children in; sometimes they are left to run about as they like without anyone to look after them.

Although the continuous physical strain of work in a factory is injurious to child-bearing, the mother in her desire to go on earning to the last possible moment does not leave work a sufficient time before her confinement. This often results in premature births and the stunted growth of the offspring, and more fatal even than this is her early return to the factory, which means that the infant, at the most critical time of its life, does not get that attention which is absolutely necessary to its wellbeing.

How women's labor may supplant that of men is seen "in an aggravated form at Leicester, and, perhaps, at its worst at Dundee. In the boot and shoe factories in the former town successive changes in the processes of manufacture have thrown men out of employment because their places are taken by women and young persons, and this also drives a number of married women to seek work in the factories, since they have to try and earn wages instead of their husbands." (Evidence before Poor Law Commission, 1909, Q. 96,610, par. 4 [iii].) At Dundee there is "plenty of female employment, which results either in loafers living upon their wives or decent men being kept there who had far better go elsewhere." (Report on Effects of Employment, etc., in Scotland, by Rev. J. Pringle, pp. 27, 106.)*

Even in some branches of the engineering trade women are now finding employment. In the Westinghouse and other large works round Manchester, women, both married and single, have been introduced in large numbers to tend the light drilling machines at which the Trade Unions used to find employment for men getting on in years and unable to take heavy work. In Stoke-upon-Trent women and girls are very largely employed in the pottery industry. "In some branches of this trade they are being employed to an increasing extent upon work which, a few years ago, was performed almost

* See generally "The Wife and Mother as Breadwinner," Minority Report of Poor Law Commission, 1909, p. 1164.

exclusively by men ; they are now actively in competition with male labor, and, as they are able to do similar work for lower wages, they are gradually driving men from certain sections of the trade."

But there are some instances in which women's labor has been superseded by complicated machines tended by men. The folding of newspapers, which used to be all handwork done by women, is now done by machines managed by men.

It would seem that when routine manual labor is displaced by simple machines the tendency is for women to be employed to mind them ; but where complicated machinery is installed it is necessary to engage men to look after it.

Besides this sapping of the nation's life through the impaired vitality and efficiency of the mother, the evolution of highly specialized machinery has produced another very grave evil, the misuse of boy labor. Boy labor being cheaper than adult, work has been sub-divided and arranged, with the increasing aid of machinery, so that it can be done by boys ; and "there is a constant tendency for certain industrial functions to be transferred from men to boys, especially when changes in the processes of manufacture or in the organization of industry are taking place rapidly. The result is the over employment of boys and the under employment of men. (Evidence before Poor Law Commission, 1909, Q. 96,921, pars. 1 and 2.) This kind of labor is uneducative (in the sense of producing no increase of efficiency or of intelligence) and unpromising (inasmuch as it leads to no permanent occupation during adult life), and at the age of seventeen or eighteen the boys are turned adrift. A few of them become skilled workmen or laborers in other trades, a few enter the army, but the majority are destined to swell the ranks of the under employed or unemployable.*

An enquiry was made in 1908 by the staff of lady inspectors into the main features of employment of children in carding of hooks, eyes, and buttons in Birmingham. It could not be completed owing to the transference of the inspectors to the north-western division. Enough was done in the way of investigation to show that children of from seven to thirteen years of age are employed to a very considerable extent, often at late hours by artificial and insufficient light straining to the eyes, in this monotonous and tiring work in their own homes ; that the work is largely dependent on child labor, and is so poorly paid that "with the assistance of several persons it is scarcely possible to earn a penny an hour," being a last resource of poverty where there are children to help. The employment cannot at present be regulated, as it is excluded from the scope of the Factory Act by Section 114 and from the Children's Employment Act, the parent being the employer. Sometimes the work was found to be supplementary to Poor Law relief. Further enquiry seems to be needed, and can be undertaken when the staff is completed for the Birmingham division. In connection with the enquiry mentioned above, Miss Squire (one of the lady inspectors) visited a considerable number of houses in Birmingham in which the work was carried on.

* See generally "The Misuses of Boy Labor," Minority Report of Poor Law Commission, 1909, p. 1165 ; "Report on the Subject of Boy Labor," by Cyril Jackson, 1908.

She found these outworkers grouped in the neighborhood of the factories, and remarks that the hooks and eyes are found in the poorest streets and the buttons in streets of a less miserable type. The sanitary condition of many of the courts and streets of the worst was "lamentable, and the conditions as to floors, walls, and furniture of many of the homes appalling." (Annual Report of Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops, 1908.)

It is thus clear that machinery in the hands of the capitalist, by the very fact that it gives him a greater power of production, results, under our chaotic system, or rather want of system, in over production and dislocation of industry and employment; a state of things which, with ever greater powers of production, is increasingly likely to occur, for although improvements in machinery may not lessen the total aggregate of labor, the haphazard irregularity of its introduction and use is undoubtedly one of the chief factors in producing unemployment.*

Most, if not all, of the evils which have followed on the introduction of machinery can be traced to its exploitation by irresponsible persons for their private ends.

The recognition of this fact, shown by the passing of the Factory Acts in the teeth of individualistic opposition, needs but to be extended to its conclusion to make machinery the servant and not the master of society.

II.—MACHINERY AS A SOCIAL SERVANT.

Since, generally, machinery is only introduced into industry when it is cheaper than hand labor, it follows that successful agitation for higher wages must often result merely in the place of the agitator being taken by a relatively unskilled machine tender at a lower wage.

The employer finds no great difficulty in obtaining such machinery and cheap labor. "The number of known or discoverable inventions for saving labor which is waiting for a rise in the wages of the labor they might supersede, in order to become economically available, may be considered infinite."

Though considerable skill may be required to supervise some complicated machinery, so numerous are the intermediate types that a mere boy, who begins by minding the simplest drill or automatic lathe, may progress through practice into a qualified fitter.

Thus even such benefits as do accrue to the worker in organized factory trades through co-operation and maintenance of a standard rate, are in danger of being frustrated by agitations for still higher wages.

* No doubt, as a matter of theory, it is possible that the introduction of machinery or the equivalent industrial change might result in the production of more commodities, but of the same amount of commodities for much less labor; but, as a matter of fact, in almost all cases it has been found that there has been a larger volume of trade by reducing the cost of production.

See the evidence of Mr. Sidney Webb before the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, 1909, Vol. IX. 93,251, 93,325-93,328, et seq.

The possibilities of machinery are almost limitless. In the making of steel rails, for example, from the moment the ore is pitched into the furnace until the rail is finished, everything is done by machinery. The ingots are gripped from furnaces, laid on rollers, carried along to be pressed, and rolled out with steel fingers automatically putting them into position, entirely without human intervention.

It is in such highly elaborated industries that many of the strongest trusts spring up.

The average employee of great skill in some narrow routine of machine tending is, on the whole, less competent than any other worker to transfer his labor power to an entirely different occupation. The Steel Trust, writes Mr. J. A. Hobson, "is the owner of its employees nearly to the same extent as it is the owner of its mills and plant, so subservient has modern labor become to the machinery under which it works. Once the trust has fairly established itself, it begins to regulate production, and may suddenly close half the mills, works, or elevators. The owners of those closed plants get their interest from the trust just as if they were working, but the labor of those works suddenly, and without any compensation for disturbance, is "saved," that is to say, the employees are deprived of the services of the only kind of plant and material to which their skilled efforts are applicable." ("Evolution of Modern Capitalism," Hobson, p. 222.) In all this the growing inadequacy of tentative regulation and sectional trades unionism to cope with the increasing power of gigantic monopolist corporations is becoming more and more evident.

The only practical solution lies in increasing collective action. Society must own and control machinery, or machinery (and the plutocrat) will own and control society.

For what Purposes Machinery should be Invented.

There is little difficulty in determining what are the basic needs of society to-day. Adequate housing, good clothes, sufficient heating and wholesome food are alike lacking to the majority. To explain that all these minimum necessities of a decent existence are withheld from the masses of the community through want of purchasing power is beyond the scope of this Tract; these matters have been dealt with very fully in Fabian Tracts of a more immediately economic character.

The vesting of large capital resources in the hands of the State and municipalities will endow them with the power to obtain the services of those inventors whose talents are now prostituted in devising mere labor saving appliances. The inventor must become a national servant and the devising and satisfaction of national needs a recognized branch of State activity.

For example, the application of electricity to communal needs, to power and transit, is but in its infancy. Such a new motive force, if distributed to factories and railways on a large scale through the medium of great power stations, with a view to furthering industrial development and not to dividend making, would do more to dispel trade depression than any mere tinkering at tariffs. And this is only

possible to the State which, with its command of capital, can afford to wait for that far greater return which would result eventually from the general re-stimulation of industry.*

The consumer also benefits immensely from large supplies of power for heating, lighting and cooking provided by his municipality at a reasonable price. And the experience of many boroughs who have furthered electrical development within their area has proved so greatly are the benefits of electricity appreciated, that even under the existing restrictions of area and regulation, the municipal service can be efficiently conducted with positive advantage to the ratepayers.

All this, however, calls for new devices and new invention. The inevitable growth of collective industrial activity will probably necessitate the institution of a College of Invention, to be established, perhaps, in connection with the existing Patent Office, where skilled experts will be engaged to assist inventors in their researches, and laboratories and plant for experimental purposes will be provided.

This suggestion is not as chimerical as might at first appear. Already many large trusts, and nations in their naval and military capacities, employ permanent staffs of research workers, and it only needs that this principle should be extended to guarantee an efficient satisfaction of communal needs and to produce a considerable advance in the material condition of the people.†

When and Where Machinery ought to be Employed.

The effect of the general introduction of electric motive force in strengthening the economic position of this country in competitive international trade can hardly be exaggerated.

History shows us how the iron industry, which in 1740 was "dwindling into insignificance and contempt," was increased a hundredfold by the introduction of steam power. In all metal manufacture it was the new motor which rendered necessary improved machinery. "The immediate result of this requirement was the bringing to the front a number of remarkable men, from Brindley to Nasmyth, to supply mechanism of a proportionate capacity and nicety for the new motive power to act upon." ("Evolution of Modern Capitalism," Hobson, p. 88.) And, therefore, it may safely be concluded that any great development of electric power will also have its effect in enormously extending that routine work which can suitably be performed by machinery.

There is another class of machinery which, since its exploitation would be of no pecuniary advantage to the capitalist but merely of great social value, is so far almost entirely undeveloped, and that is all the various kinds which might be utilized to take the place of

* See "Public Control of Electric Power and Transit," Fabian Tract No. 119.

† The institution of State experimental and testing stations for agriculture is fully dealt with in Fabian Tract No. 115. The National Physical Laboratory at Bushey is another instance; in particular the new special department of aeronautics there, to which problems of aerial navigation are to be submitted by the army and navy for investigation and assistance, is an example of the principle in operation.

human labor employed upon the necessary but more degrading work of society.*

This is an almost entirely unexplored avenue of invention, and will remain so while the inventor has no inducement to turn his attention to the solution of such problems.

To find out what can be done in this direction one has but to explore a modern battleship and see how most of the more physical and unintelligent labor in serving the guns is now done mechanically, leaving to the human agent the more "spiritual" work of training and firing.

Hydraulic or electric ammunition hoists are not employed with any idea of relieving the sailor of the less intellectual forms of labor, but merely for the sake of greater efficiency ; but the very fact that they are used shows that other machines might be employed in the same way as substitutes for other forms of what is merely brute labor. And not only the ammunition hoist, but the evolution, from the three decker, of the battleship itself, is but an instance of what can be done to meet a social need, if society is only allowed to express and satisfy such needs.

On the other hand, with increased collective ownership and control, the restitution of leisure and opportunity to the workers must tend to enlarge that quasi-artistic field of production in which machinery cannot appropriately be employed. Such personal things as domestic crockery, fabrics of all kinds, ornaments, furniture, etc., which were formerly produced by craftsmen, will, as a better state of living leads to a more cultured demand, tend to pass once more into the hands of the art worker.

The necessity for regularizing production which has concentrated capital in the hands of the trust must find its logical consequence in collective ownership.

There exists in America to-day a system of regulating the introduction of invention by the simple expedient of buying up possible competitive devices ; and as it is the unregulated, spasmodic introduction of new processes which convulses the labor market, it is reasonable to hope that the statesmen of the future may in a similar way find it possible to regulate the introduction of new machinery.

A greater regularity of employment, the performance of an increasing amount of onerous and degrading routine work by mechanical devices, the stimulation of international trade, are results which may be expected to follow on the collectivization of machinery.

The Conditions under which Machinists should Labor.

Under no conditions whatever should labor which produces preventable accident and death be tolerated. Factory inspection, at present utterly inadequate and inefficient, must be strengthened so as to bring every workshop under direct and continuous Government control. The Factory Acts demand wide extension, and all

* See Mr. H. W. Macrosty in *Economic Journal*, March, 1909, p. 6. A manufacturer was asked why he did not introduce certain mechanical devices which would have replaced some very toilsome forms of hand labor. He replied, "Why should I? . . . it will not reduce my cost nor increase my output. . . . So long as I can get the same results with the cheap labor I now employ, why should I change?"

those industries which inevitably cause "occupation diseases" must be either carried on by mechanical or innocuous manual methods, or abandoned altogether.

The acquiescence in habitual lead poisoning, mercurial, phosphorus, and arsenic poisoning, and anthrax is neither more nor less than national murder.*

Among many other urgent problems awaiting the attention of our "National College of Invention" there is none more important than the devising of appliances to terminate this national iniquity, which sacrifices annually so many lives. Even now, with our existing Factory Acts, the internal condition of the workshop leaves much to be desired. To the thousands of deaths caused by accidents and diseases of occupation must be added hundreds of thousands of cases of direct injury to health arising from work in unhealthy factories and workshops.

For the first time since the "Industrial Revolution," machinery must be devised with some reference to the physical and nervous system of its operator.

With the better organization of labor and stimulation of enterprise, the objection to automatic stokers, feeders, carriers, and endless bands, all of which reduce the total amount of unskilled labor, will be removed.

The spectacle of an electric power station where coal is reduced to gas, passed into an engine, and its energy transferred through a dynamo into the mains, under the supervision of only three persons, will no longer be suggestive of unemployment; but every new invention for saving labor will be hailed with joy as a release from toil and a gift of more time in which to do individual work.

* The figures for 1903 are as follows: killed or died from industrial poisoning (lead, mercury, phosphorus, arsenic poisoning, or anthrax), 70; injured or suffered from industrial poisoning, 875.

For 1907: killed or died from industrial poisoning, 40; injured or suffered from disease, 653.

For 1908: killed or died from industrial poisoning, 40; injured or suffered from disease, 727.

See also Mr. Ward's Paper on Industrial Occupations, read to the Royal Statistical Society, May 16th, 1905.

Dr. Legge (Medical Factory Inspector) has supplied tables showing the number of reported cases of lead poisoning for the years 1899 to 1908 inclusive, particulars of fatal cases of plumbism for 1908, and a detailed analysis of the reports by certifying surgeons on cases in 18 groups of industries according to severity, frequency of attack, and main symptoms. The figures are somewhat higher than they were in 1907, the greatest increase being noted in connection with the smelting of metals, where the cases have risen from 28 to 70. Referring to the increase in the number of poisoning cases noted above, he thinks it is perhaps indirectly due to the inclusion of lead poisoning in the third schedule of the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1906, in two ways—(1) by causing the prevalence of pre-existing plumbism to come to light; (2) by the tendency this has fostered in these trades to replace men suspected of lead impregnation by new hands, amongst whom the incidence of lead poisoning is greater than amongst old workers. Miss Vines has investigated a large number of cases of poisoning amongst women workers in potteries. She describes the bad effects of this poisoning, quoting details of many of the cases met with, and showing how little compensation does to mitigate the sufferings caused by it. She draws attention also to the hard position of lead workers who, although not suffering from lead poisoning, are suspended from working in a lead process as a precautionary measure, and who therefore get no compensation and frequently cannot obtain other work.

So long ago as 1896 the Fabian Society presented the following resolutions on factory legislation to the International Socialist Workers and Trade Union Congress, most of which have still to be put into effect :

Considering—

That it is one of the chief duties of the State to secure the health and safety of the workers, but that this duty cannot be effectually fulfilled unless it is undertaken in a scientific manner.

The Congress demands—

1. That every Government shall institute committees of experts (including machine workers) to study the best means of preventing accidents from the different kinds of machinery.

2. That every Government shall also establish laboratories for the investigation of the safest processes of manufacture.

3. That, supported by the opinion of his expert advisers, the Minister responsible for labor shall have power to issue departmental regulations in such matters as the fencing of machinery, precautions to be taken in manufacture, etc., and also, subject to revision of his orders by the Legislature, to prohibit processes as dangerous.

4. That the white lead industry and the making of matches from yellow phosphorus—dangerous occupations for which safe and effectual substitutes are acknowledged to exist—shall be at once prohibited.

The extent to which these resolutions have been acted upon is indicated by the following Home Office Orders.

Regulations were issued in 1898 concerning the manufacture of earthenware and china, the dusting of china for transfers, and the glazing of bricks with lead.

In 1899 concerning the sorting and carding of wool and goat hair.

In 1904 concerning the loading and moving of goods in docks, and, in 1907, the spinning of hemp and jute.

Besides these, the Alkali Works Act, 1906, imposes regulations on certain chemical works from which noxious gases may be emitted, and the White Phosphorus Matches Prohibition Act prevents the manufacture, sale, or importation of matches tipped with white phosphorus.

During 1908 new regulations were made for dealing with dangerous trades, in which brasscasting and vitreous enamelling are included. As to brass, the Midland Division is the one that will be most affected by the introduction of the new regulations in place of the old special rules, and steps are being taken to secure compliance when they come into force on January 1, 1910. Efficient means for the removal of fumes from the casting shop is one of the most important of the new requirements, and Mr. Redgrave reports that considerable structural alterations will be necessary. Very few works in the Walsall district will be able to comply with the standards required for the exemption allowed to casting shops with 2,500 cubic feet of space for each worker. Regret is expressed at the way the special rules are observed in the Staffordshire Potteries. The owners show too great a tendency to delegate responsibility to the foremen, while the workers themselves are indifferent. In the same period ten sample suspected materials were referred to the Government Laboratory for determination as dangerous or safe. Electricity and Indian wool were also regulated by order.

With regard to the prevention of accidents, the railway men succeeded in obtaining a Royal Commission which sat in 1899 to consider the question of accidents. The unanimous verdict of the Commission was "that lives are lost which might be saved and men are injured unnecessarily." As a result, the Railway Accidents Act of 1900 was passed.*

CONCLUSION.

The path of immediate practical reform lies in the direction indicated by the above resolutions. The limitation of hours, the restriction of juvenile and dangerous labor, alike tend to protect the worker as producer; but the provision of steady employment and the interests of the worker as consumer have still to be considered.

If it is evident that the existence of a class of unemployed, willing, but unable to find work, is the necessary result of the present industrial system, in which every improvement in machinery throws people at any rate temporarily out of employment by rendering their labor superfluous, it follows that only by the State organization of labor, by regulating the introduction of machinery, by increasing the purchasing power of the people, and by absorbing a large portion of the surplus product for the general collective good, can employment be finally regularized.

This, too, will strengthen the worker's power as consumer.

The concentration of enormous purchasing power in the hands of a few persons, most of whom have done nothing to justify their position, results in the workers wasting their brains and bodies to satisfy the whims of the idlers.

The motor car, if put to work where it was most wanted, might have meant the revival of agriculture in England, and been an incalculable stimulus to social intercourse and recreation. As controlled by the irresponsible demand of wealthy individuals, it began merely as one more luxury for the rich (its least important function); and it is still only the overflow of this supply which reaches the organic part of the nation.

Machinery is but a part, though an immensely important part, of our social life; and until the community realizes its responsibility to itself and takes steps to gain control over its own destiny by owning and controlling the materials which give it existence, it is unlikely that machinery or any other national asset will be employed otherwise than by the powerful few to extort profits out of the necessities of the many.

* For further information see "Dangerous Trades," edited by Sir Thomas Oliver. Murray; 1902. 25s. n.

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THE CASE FOR SCHOOL NURSERIES.

BY MRS. TOWNSHEND.

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THE CASE FOR SCHOOL NURSERIES.

School Attendance of Children under Five.

TILL quite recently it has been the practice in England and Wales for children between three and five to attend school if their parents so desired and for school authorities to make regular provision for such children. "During the fifteen years previous to 1907 at least a third of all such children were on the registers of public elementary schools."* Soon after the passing of the Education Act, 1902, however, the question as to whether school attendance for very young children was desirable began to be much discussed. It was pointed out that the compulsory age limit was lower in England than in any other country, and that the methods employed in most of our infant schools were unsuited to the needs of such very young children. Enquiries were set on foot by some of the new education authorities and by the Board of Education, with the result that in the Code for 1905 the following clause was inserted:—

"Where the Local Education Authority have so determined in the case of any school maintained by them, children who are under five years of age may be refused admission to that school."

Accordingly no obligation rests at present on local education authorities to provide for children under five. There are in England and Wales three hundred and twenty-seven such authorities, and of these thirty-two wholly exclude children under five from their schools, one hundred and fifty-four retain all children between three and five who are sent to school, while the remaining one hundred and thirty-six take a middle course, retaining some and excluding others.†

Reasons for Excluding Children under Five from Elementary Schools.

The reasons given for this exclusion are of two kinds ; some have reference only to the ordinary infant school as it exists at present in England, others to any kind of public provision whatever. Among the former may be mentioned:—

I. THE VENTILATION DIFFICULTY.

It has been urged that under existing conditions of air space proper ventilation is almost impossible, and that the air has been actually found to be more impure in schools than in the dwellings of the poor.‡ It is argued that in the case of older children the risks

* Report of the Consultative Committee upon the School Attendance of Children below the age of Five (Board of Education, July 2nd, 1908), p. 12.

† Ibid. Appendix I. and V.

‡ Ibid. Appendix III.

from bad air are less while the advantages of education are greater, that it is a heavy and needless risk to herd very young children together in bad air. Such objectors take for granted that the present unsatisfactory conditions as to ventilation are to be looked on as inevitable, but, "it certainly seems anomalous, to say the least, that elementary schools should be allowed to remain as the classical example of bad ventilation, and that children should thus be taught by practical example to tolerate foul air."† It must be remembered, too, that the bad smell and intolerable stuffiness of the ordinary schoolroom, which are the outward and sensible sign of injurious air conditions, are due rather to dirt than to actual deficiency of air. "Far more could be done by cleanliness than by ventilation. The floors and walls should be capable of being properly cleansed, and the children themselves and their clothes kept clean and tidy."* Now in the nursery school cleanliness would always be specially insisted on, would indeed take the very first place among subjects of instruction, so that it may be hoped that the air would in them be less laden with impurities than in the ordinary elementary school. It must be noticed, too, that the children in such schools ought to spend a large part of their school time out of doors, and that no day nursery or nursery school is complete without ample playgrounds, both roofed and open, with facilities for resting out of doors in good weather.

2. THE DANGER OF INFECTION.

"In proportion to the number of children, the spread of infectious diseases caused by school attendance is greater before five than after; but it must be remembered that if more escape *before* five, the greater will be the incidence of the disease *after* five."* It is also noteworthy that "with the better training of teachers on the hygienic side and the appointment of school medical officers, a state of things will arise, and, in fact, is arising, in which attendance at school will become a means of decreasing the diseases (more especially diphtheria and scarlet fever)."[†]

3. THE DANGER OF PREMATURE MENTAL STRAIN.

"The question of overpressure has been rather exaggerated. Practically it does not exist in infants' schools, except in the case of children with defects to start with, children highly nervous or badly nourished, for whom the work is too much. At the same time, much of the instruction now given is without doubt unsuitable. . . . Play is the best way of educating young children; let them follow their natural instincts as in the nursery. . . . Above all, avoid any idea of enforcing discipline. Fine muscular movements (as of the eye or fingers in reading, writing, or sewing, etc.) should be post-

* Ibid. Appendix III. Memorandum by Dr. Haldane on the air in schools.

† Ibid. Evidence of Dr. James Niven, Medical Officer of Health, Manchester, pp. 80 and 81. Dr. Niven has since furnished statistics showing that over a period of five years in Manchester the case mortality was substantially the same amongst children attending and those not attending school.

poned until the child has obtained a fuller control over its muscles. . . . Drill is very important, and should consist of 'coarse' movements as contrasted with the 'fine' movements mentioned above. Organized games can be made into a very severe lesson; their value is much exaggerated."* This danger of overstrain through unsuitable treatment is of the utmost importance; and it is the special claim of the nursery school to avoid it by providing just that atmosphere of freedom and kindly encouragement which a sensible mother gives to her child, avoiding alike over stimulation and needless restraint.

But, in addition to these special and more or less avoidable dangers, general objections are raised against making any public provision for little children which would facilitate their removal from home. There is, for instance:—

4. THE DANGER THAT PARENTAL RESPONSIBILITY MAY BE WEAKENED.

Experience has shown over and over again that the parental burden is too heavy. All observers agree that children attending school are better looked after by their parents, kept cleaner and tidier, than they would be if they stayed at home. A marked difference may be noticed in almost any poor district in the appearance of the children on Saturdays and during the holidays. It would be much nearer the truth to say that any arrangement which involves the child's being periodically submitted to outside inspection would raise the standard of parental responsibility, and that this influence would be greatly increased by teaching and illustrating what the needs of young children really are. The hollowness of this objection is apparent when one considers that the wealthy ladies who think it so dangerous to relieve the hardworked mother of any of her duties to her little ones find it necessary to depute all such duties in their own case to a nurse. This fact furnishes an answer also to another objection which is often urged, viz., that little children require such constant individual and loving attention that they are better looked after by their mothers than by anyone else. Let us look at the facts. How does the rich mother who has free choice in the matter act? Does she keep her three year old child constantly with her when she is reading, writing, talking to her friends, or eating her meals? No; she devotes, perhaps, a few hours in the day to it when she can give it a fair share of attention, and for the rest of the time she places it with a skilled attendant either out of doors or in an airy, sunny apartment, where it can play about freely under due supervision. What does the poor mother do? If she is able to remain at home, she will allow her three year old to crawl about the kitchen floor or play in the street, or, perhaps, if he be a venturesome child, will tie him to the leg of the table, so that he may not tumble into the fire, while she is busy with the dinner, the housework, or the family washing. If, on the

* Ibid. Evidence of Dr. Kerr and Dr. Hogarth, Medical Officers of the Education Department of the London County Council, pp. 63 and 64.

other hand, she has to go out to work, she will leave him with a "minder," usually some old or feeble person who is not able to do more active work, or, if she can manage to hoodwink the attendance officer, with an elder brother or sister kept at home for the purpose. Can it be seriously alleged that it would be a disadvantage to the child to be removed from the minder, or even from the home kitchen and the tail of his mother's eye, to a nursery resembling that which the rich mother provides for her own child, but shared with a number of little neighbors of its own age? It is just because little children require constant and watchful attention that collectivist nurseries are so much needed. One capable, motherly, experienced woman, with a suitable number of trained assistants, can superintend the tending and training of a large number of infants; while one woman with a house to clean, a family to feed and clothe, and the washing to do, cannot properly care for one.

5. THE DANGER OF ENCOURAGING BOTTLE FEEDING.

But though this dread of lightening the responsibilities of motherhood may for the most part be dismissed as sentimental, yet there is one aspect of it, affecting our dealing with infants of only a few months old, the importance of which cannot possibly be exaggerated. The right place for a suckled infant is with its mother, and in a well ordered State no woman would be allowed to undertake work away from home until her child was nine months old; but any legal prohibition of this kind seems, unfortunately, a long way off, since it would necessarily imply State maintenance for nursing mothers. Meanwhile, as long as husbands are liable to be underpaid or unemployed, mothers who should be nursing their babies will accept laundry work or charring; and when this happens the unfortunate baby will fare better in a crèche, where it will receive pure milk, suitably diluted, out of a clean bottle, than with the casual minder. It does not necessarily follow, however, that the crèche baby should be hand fed. After the first few months, when the feeding has become less frequent, it is quite possible for nursing mothers to visit the crèches at suitable intervals. In French and Belgian crèches a room is usually set apart for this purpose.

The Need for Public Provision for Children under School Age.

It seems clear, notwithstanding all difficulties and objections, that public provision must be made for some children under school age. Even if we decide with the Consultative Committee* that the proper place for such children is at home with their mothers, yet we are bound to admit, as they do, that the home surroundings of large numbers of children are not satisfactory, and that children from these homes should be sent during the daytime to places specially intended for their training.* No responsible person in London, for instance, is prepared to recommend that the children under five now at school should be turned into the streets.

* Ibid. P. 57.

Kind of Provision Required.

We have already said that of actual teaching, in the ordinary sense of the word, children under five ought to receive very little. Information should be given very sparingly and only in response to awakened curiosity. Restraint, compulsion, and punishment should be almost unknown ; but there is one kind of education which must take place in these early years if at all, and on which health and efficiency in after life largely depend, I mean the formation of physical habits.* People are apt to forget that breathing, walking, eating, speaking and sleeping have to be learnt, and that there are right and wrong ways of doing each. They are all difficult arts to the baby learner, and he may be much helped in acquiring them by an expert and watchful guardian. As soon as a child is born one may begin to teach him regularity and periodicity in sleeping, eating and the evacuations of the body, and by the time he is a year old he is ready for one or two new lessons. Every year a little more may be done in the way of checking injurious habits and encouraging useful ones ; and it must be remembered that these nursery lessons are not less but far more important than the reading, writing, and counting that are taught in the ordinary infant schools. If we consider what are the differences that distinguish a well-bred person from an ill-bred one, we shall find that they depend for the most part on habits acquired in babyhood, modesty, refinement, consideration for others shown in such everyday matters as eating, drinking, and moving about, accurate and distinct utterance, and little points of personal cleanliness. Training of this kind should find a place in the crèche and the nursery school, while it is almost impossible that it should be given by the overworked mother in a workman's home.

Children must be Taught :

HOW TO WASH.

Cleanliness is, perhaps, the most important aspect of the question. The wish to be clean is not born with us. It has to be taught and trained. If a child can be induced to feel uncomfortable when he is dirty, a great step has been taken towards civilizing him and towards the establishment of a higher standard in living for the next generation. This is a point that needs emphasizing, for there is no doubt that we rank lower in regard to cleanliness of clothes and person than other European countries. One's nose testifies to this fact if, after travelling in crowded workmen's trains in England, one does the same thing in France or Germany.

* " Habits, whether they be born in us or are subsequently acquired, constitute man's whole nature, and they are the results of experience or education. Our education does not begin when we commence to learn to read or write, nor does it commence when we learn to breathe or suck. It has been steadily going on ever since our first foundations were laid in the immeasurable past. The education of the infant consists in teaching it how to acquire good and useful habits which are not born in it, and which will enable it to live a complete life, and take full advantage of the opportunities of its surroundings or environment."—" Infant Education," by E. Pritchard, M.A., M.D. (Oxon.), M.R.C.P. (London).

In England the crusade for cleanliness in the schools is only just beginning. The first step was taken when nurses were appointed to examine the children's heads. Some teachers insist on clean hands and faces, but investigations have seldom proceeded further. Now that medical inspection is at length instituted, terrible disclosures are being made of verminous bodies and diseases engendered by dirt. Now cleanliness is a lesson that can be taught. Few lessons are easier to teach, provided that necessary appliances are at hand, and none bring to the pupil a more immediate and obvious blessing. None certainly are more important if the first aim of our schools is to extend to the children of the poor the opportunity of leading a decent life. But this important lesson is not one that can wait for the school age. The evil results of dirt affect the health of a young child even more than of an older one. A child of two or three years old preyed on by parasites is an object so deplorable that nothing could be more absurd than to permit children to remain in this condition till they are five years old and then expend large sums on teaching them the three R's, often without any cleansing process at all.

In any public nurseries which may be established in England the bathing apparatus would have to play a very important part, and clothing would have to be rigorously inspected and, when necessary, replaced. A time may come some day when English mothers, like French ones, may be required to provide clean underlinen twice a week for their children and a clean pocket handkerchief every day; but to anyone familiar with our schools in poor districts such a time seems remote.

HOW TO SLEEP.

The children of the poor suffer almost as much from want of sleep as from want of food.* The regular midday rest, which is such an important feature in the régime of the nursery, is a luxury of the rich, and in a two roomed household it is almost impossible to put the little ones to bed early enough at night. Undisturbed sleep at regular intervals is in itself invaluable, especially as the means of forming a periodic physical habit which will last a lifetime. Any schools for children under six should be provided with suitable and sufficient sleeping accommodation. "The babies must be allowed to sleep when they want to, and should all be trained to sleep during the day."*

HOW TO EAT.

Another very important nursery lesson is the right way to eat. Recent experience in organizing school feeding has amply proved the need for it. That we teach children to read and write before they know how to eat is an example of our topsy turvey methods. If we instructed them early in the use of their teeth, and were careful to provide suitable materials for that instruction, we should need to spend less later on in dentistry. The dinner table, too, with its code of manners, founded on consideration for others, pro-

* Report of the Consultative Committee upon the School Attendance of Children below the age of Five, pp. 90-96.

vides an admirable field for moral instruction and for laying the foundations of civilized life.

HOW TO TALK.

Second only to the importance of learning to wash, to sleep, and to eat, is that of learning to talk. Speech, the widest and most distinctively human of the arts, must begin in the nursery; and much depends on whether it begins there well or ill. Nothing is more noticeable and more distressing to the visitor in our schools than the inarticulateness of the children. One has to delve deep to reach a response. To receive an answer prompt, fearless, and distinct is so rare as to be absolutely startling. There are many reasons for this, but the most obvious is an actual difficulty in utterance. The children have never been taught to speak, and most of them make very clumsy attempts at it. Of course, they soon acquire a code of half articulate sounds, which serve to express their more urgent needs and emotions; but their ears are not trained to recognize nice distinctions of sound, and as they grow older the possibility of such discrimination is lost. The vocal organs, too, having no demands made on them, lose their flexibility and become unmanageable. Bad habits of breathing, too, pass unnoticed, which are difficult to cure and have very bad results.

To impart some familiarity with spoken language, the child should be taught to pronounce very simple words correctly and delicately; and his vocabulary should be extended gradually as his field of observation widens. This should be the chief educational aim of the nursery school. No child can think to much purpose till he can speak, or make any real use of information till he can frame his thoughts into sentences. The power of expression is absurdly neglected throughout our schools. We proceed to teach children to read while they are still, to all intents and purposes, dumb, which is like forcing food on a sick man who can't digest.

But though speech is the most important of the nursery arts, it is not the only one. Much can be done to assist that long, unwearyed, ingenious campaign which any healthy child will devise and carry on for himself, and which has for its unconscious aim the control of his own nerves and muscles.

Limit of the Nursery Period.

It is impossible to make hard and fast rules as to the dividing points in a child's life. One child will be more developed at four than another at six, and it is difficult to decide at what age the sort of training sketched above should give place to ordinary school methods. There is much to be said, however, for fixing the break at six or seven rather than at five; and in this we may, perhaps, be guided by the practice in well-to-do households, where children migrate from nursery to schoolroom at about that age. For it is well to bear in mind that what we are pleading for is, after all, a peculiarly English institution. Those very advantages, unfortunately, on which the English middle class specially pride them-

selves, they are the least eager to share with their poorer neighbors. We boast of the playing fields of Eton, and of the admirable training in self-control and esprit de corps to be gained in them, and leave our elementary schools with a wretched square of asphalt, where nothing can occur but a disorderly scramble. We are proud of our English cleanliness and our cult of the daily morning bath, and yet we are content to allow our school children to remain the most filthy and ragged in Europe. So though England is the home of the nursery (the word being untranslatable), and the wealthy mother in Russia or Italy makes a point of securing an English nurse for her children, yet a nursery for the children of labor is a notion of foreign growth, and we must turn to France, to Belgium, and to Hungary to see anything like an adequate realization of it.

In all these countries the school age is six, and provision is made for children below it in two separate institutions, the crèche and the école maternelle or école gardienne, as it is called in Belgium.

The following account of these institutions is compiled from reports published by the Board of Education :—

The Crèche in England and France.*

In Paris the first crèche was opened in 1844 by private enterprise and supported by charity. Mothers paid twopence a day per child, emphasis being laid on the intention of helping those who were obliged to earn their living, rather than merely of feeding and sheltering the children of the indigent. In 1847 the Society of Crèches was inaugurated at the Hotel de Ville, and in 1869 it was recognized as an institution of public utility. In 1904 Paris, with a population of two and three-quarter millions, had sixty-six crèches accommodating two thousand four hundred and ninety-one children under three years old. It is instructive to compare these figures with those for London, where, with a population of four and a half millions in 1904, there were fifty-five crèches, accommodating one thousand six hundred and ninety-three children under three. "In other words, London had crèche accommodation for one child in every two thousand five hundred, Paris had crèche accommodation for one child in every thousand. The crèches in London are private, with no aid from State or municipality, while those in Paris have received both since 1862. London has no registration or system of State inspection. Paris has both, the crèches being inspected daily by doctors. Lastly, the London crèches are distributed quite irregularly, some of the poorest boroughs having none at all, while Paris crèches are evenly distributed among twenty arrondissements. Even more startling are the differences outside the capitals. France, not including Paris or the Department of the Seine, has three hundred and twenty-two crèches. England, not including London, or greater London, has nineteen." †

* Report of Miss M. B. Synge, published by the Board of Education in July, 1908, together with the Report of the Consultative Committee previously quoted.

† The French statistics are taken from the Report of the Chief Officer of Public Control.

English crèches, or day nurseries, are, for the most part, organized by committees of ladies. They are mostly parochial and supported entirely by voluntary contributions. Few of them are in houses built for the purpose: most are in adapted premises.* Any private person may open a crèche in England without leave from any public body; crèches are unregistered and under no inspection.

The crèche in France, though not State supported, is generously subsidized. In the year 1904 Paris crèches received from the Minister of the Interior £1,468, from the Ville de Paris £67,045, and from the Conseil General des Départments £1,376.

No crèche may be opened in Paris without leave from the prefect of the department. In order to receive a grant it must be subject to inspection, conform to certain rules, and be administered by a council presided over by the mayor of the locality.

At the head of every crèche is a directress. Under her there is a berceuse to every six children and a gardienne to every twelve children under the age of one and a half years. In a large crèche there are also a cook and a laundry maid.

Each crèche has twenty or thirty "dames patronesses" or managers under a lady president. They are appointed by the mayor. Each lady has certain days or weeks in the year allotted to her and is definitely responsible for certain duties of management.

Children are admitted at the age of fifteen days and kept till the age of three. The mother is requested to bring the child clean. While she is feeding it herself she must come regularly to the crèche at least twice a day. She must pay her contribution, two-pence for one child, threepence for two, every morning, and she must show that she is obliged to go to work or is incapable of attending to the child at home.

Illegitimate children are admitted after due investigation.

The cost per day per child at the Paris crèches averages about one shilling, so that the mother's payment covers only one-sixth of it.

The children are supplied with clothes. These are changed when they arrive and again at night.

There are usually seven or eight doctors attached to a crèche, one of whom visits it every day. In many cases these doctors, who give their services entirely free, form a committee to decide all questions connected with hygiene.

To some crèches is attached a "School for Mothers," to which infants not in the crèche are brought for weekly inspection, and tables are kept of the weight and progress of each child.†

The forty-five crèches in Paris receiving municipal grants are subject to inspection. In addition to the ordinary inspectors, a lady inspector of crèches has recently been appointed.

* A movement towards a better condition of things has been recently made by the National Society of Day Nurseries, founded in 1906 with the object of assisting local committees and affiliating existing nurseries.

† For further details consult "The Nursling" (see Bibliography, page 19), Lecture X., and translator's preface.

All the Paris crèches can be visited by anyone who is interested in them without introduction.

The Crèche in other Countries.

The chief characteristic of the Belgian crèche is that it is nearly always run in connection with an école gardienne or nursery school, which admits children up to the age of six.

The crèche system is not by any means so widely developed in Belgium as in France (outside the capital the only town at all adequately provided being Liège, which has six crèches), but in the poorer suburbs of Brussels there are one or two crèches admirably installed and managed which far surpass anything of the kind in England.

Crèches or Krippen exist in most German and Swiss towns,* and are usually separate from the kindergartens or nursery schools. The krippe admits children from six weeks to three years, and is intended only for the children of mothers who are out at work. It is open from 5.30 or 6 a.m. till the factories close in the evening, or sometimes till 8 p.m. The charge is usually about twopence a day; sometimes, to nursing mothers only, one penny a day. Illegitimate children are not excluded. Krippen are, as a rule, in the charge of Sisters (Catholic or Protestant), with voluntary helpers, who have nearly always been trained in the management of infants. The krippen are not municipally organized or supervised, but they receive in many towns municipal grants varying a good deal in amount. The cost varies from sixpence to tenpence a head.

Nursery Schools.

Between the crèche and the elementary school there is obvious need for a half-way house. This is already supplied, after a fashion, in some parts of the country by the baby class in the infant school, but nowhere in England is it sufficiently recognized that what is needed is not a school at all in the ordinary sense. Children under five (or, as I should prefer to say, under six or seven) should receive little or no definite instruction. They need plenty of freedom for spontaneous activity among wholesome surroundings under the guidance and supervision of attendants who have been trained in matters relating to health, to conduct, and to the growth of intelligence. Large rooms, well lighted, well aired, well warmed, and a pleasant open air playground where, if possible, plants and animals can be watched and tended, not too much interference, but the constant care of kind and watchful nurses; these are the requisites for a nursery school. In England, although a kindergarten here and there comes near to this ideal, no attempt has been made to supply the need for them all over the country. For anything of the kind on a national scale we must turn to France, Belgium, or Hungary.

* See Report by Miss May published with that of Consultative Committee.

THE ECOLE MATERNELLE (FRANCE).

Yet it is consoling to our national vanity when we look up the history of the French *écoles maternelles*, from which we have now so much to learn, to find that in their origin they owe a good deal to an Englishman and a Socialist.

For their first germ, indeed, we must go to Switzerland and to the year 1771, when Pastor Oberlin started his first *école à tricoter* in the Vosges. Mme. Pastoret transplanted the idea to Paris in 1801 when she opened a *salle d'hospitalité*, where the children of working mothers could be taken in and cared for; but it was not till 1826 that anything approaching the modern maternal school was opened, and by that time Mme. Pastoret had learned all she could about the infant schools which had been started by the English cotton manufacturer, Robert Owen, in 1812.

It was in the blackest hour of English child slavery that these schools appeared like a dawn of hope, an illusory dawn unfortunately. Robert Owen, roused by the pitiable condition of the poor children collected together from public charities and poor houses in order to work in the cotton mills, put a stop in his own mills to the practice of employing them from the age of six, and persuaded the parents to send them to school at two and keep them there till ten. Of these eight years the earlier were, in his opinion, even more important than the later. His reasons for thinking so are to be gathered from the very interesting evidence which he gave in 1816 before the Select Committee of the House of Commons to Enquire into the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis. In describing the treatment of the infants, he says:—

They were perpetually superintended, to prevent their acquiring bad habits, to give them good ones, and to form their dispositions to mutual kindness and a sincere desire to contribute all in their power to benefit each other. . . . In fine weather the children are much out of doors that they may have the benefit of sufficient exercise in the open air. . . . The children were not to be annoyed with books, but were to be taught the uses and nature or qualities of the common things around them by familiar conversation, when the children's curiosity was excited so as to induce them to ask questions. . . . All rewards and punishments whatever, except such as nature herself has provided . . . are sedulously excluded. . . . A child who acts improperly is considered an object not of blame, but of pity. . . . No unnecessary restraint is imposed on the children. . . . The dress worn by both boys and girls is composed of strong white cotton cloth of the best quality that can be procured. It is formed in the shape of the Roman tunic, and reaches in the boys' dresses to the knees and in the girls' to the ankle. These dresses are changed three times a week that they may be kept perfectly clean and neat. The parents of the older children pay threepence a month. Nothing is paid for the infant classes. . . . The infants, besides being instructed by sensible signs—the things themselves or models or paintings—and by familiar conversation, were from two years and upwards daily taught dancing and singing.*

Owen had some difficulty in finding teachers who would adopt his views and could carry them out.

I had therefore [he says] to seek among the population for two persons who had a great love for, and unlimited patience with, infants and who were thoroughly tractable and willing unreservedly to follow my instructions. The best to my mind in

* "An Outline of the System of Education in New Lanark," published, 1824, by Robert Dale Owen (Robert Owen's son); see "Life of Robert Owen," by F. Podmore (London: 1906).

these respects that I could find in the population of the village was a poor simple hearted weaver, named James Buchanan, who had been previously trained by his wife to perfect submission to her will, and who could gain but a scanty living by his now oppressed trade of weaving common plain cotton goods by hand. But he *loved* children strongly by nature, and his patience with them was inexhaustible.

This man was afterwards sent to London to superintend the first English infant school, which was opened in Westminster under the patronage of James Mill and other distinguished men. Owen gives an amusing account of his disappointment on the occasion of a surprise visit to this school:—

On entering the school, the first object that I saw was Mrs. Buchanan, whom I had never seen in the New Lanark school, brandishing a whip and terrifying the children with it. Buchanan I saw in another part of the room without authority or influence, and as much subject to his wife as the children.

Owen was full of ideas, and none of them were more original and valuable than those as to the education of infants; but, as one may judge from the above extract, he does not seem to have had the knack of gathering round him the people who could satisfactorily carry out those ideas and render permanent the institutions which sprang from his warm heart and fertile brain. But England was deep in the trough of *laissez faire*, and one need not wonder that here Owen's preaching fell on deaf ears and produced no permanent results.

France, quickened by a stirring of revolt and intellectual awakening, offered more hopeful soil; and there, as we have seen, the seed germinated when the first *salle d'asile* (or *salle d'essai*, as it was at first called) was opened in the Rue du Bac in 1826. Seven years later the *salles d'asiles* received their first recognition by the State, and in 1837 a commission was appointed to draw up rules for their conduct. These rules were revised from time to time, and a special training school for infant teachers was opened; and at last, in 1881, the old name of *salles d'asiles* was changed to *écoles maternelles*, and the rules as to admission and the program were settled and codified.

At the head of every *école maternelle* is a directress, a certificated teacher, whose salary, paid in part by the State, in part by the commune, begins at one hundred and sixty-eight pounds a year, and rises gradually to a maximum of two hundred and eight pounds, with a right to a pension at the end of twenty-five years. She is helped by a number of assistants (one for every forty children), whose salaries begin at eighty-eight pounds, and rise to one hundred and twenty-eight pounds. There are, in addition, a number of nurses or servants chosen by the directrice and paid by the commune, whose wages vary from forty pounds to fifty pounds.

The directress has various registers to keep, which must be at the disposal of the inspectors.

On the arrival of the children in the morning, she must ascertain by personal inspection that each one is in good health and clean. She also inspects their baskets, and sees that each child has brought a pocket handkerchief. She receives the pence and keeps a list of those who are fed free of charge, and she supervizes the school canteen.

The assistants must be over seventeen and certificated. Each has a separate class, and a great deal depends on the ingenuity and child love of the teacher. They help with the midday meal if required. The school hours being very long, they take it in turns to stay overtime.

The nurses, or *femmes de service*, are a most important addition to the staff. There is one, at least, in every school; two, if the numbers justify it. Their duties are very various. They sweep out the school every day, and open it at eight in winter and seven in summer for any children whose mothers go early to work, taking charge of the children till the directress and assistants arrive at nine o'clock. The *femme de service* superintends the children at the water closets every morning and again at one o'clock. This, from a hygienic point of view, is most important and is much neglected in English infant schools. She also washes the children's hands and faces twice a day and, in some schools, gives them a weekly bath and helps to wait on them at the school dinner. As in the case of the *crèche*, the general superintendence of the school is in the hands of a committee of ladies presided over by the mayor. Members of this committee visit the homes of the children.

The *école maternelle* is optional and free. Children between the ages of two and six are admitted on producing a note of admission from the mayor of the commune. Mothers are specially asked to bring the children clean and to pack in their school bucket a spoon, a dinner napkin, some bread and wholesome drink.

The schools are entirely paid for out of public funds, the cost being divided between the State, the department, and the commune.

The "*Caisses des Ecoles*" is a benevolent society subsidized and controlled by the State. It originated in 1849 and has grown into an organization of great importance. It covers much the same ground as our newly established Care Committees, its object being to provide clothing, boots, and food to necessitous children. It also provides for country holidays and vacation schools.

About a third of the children in the *écoles maternelles* pay for their food and the rest have it free. The list of the latter is kept by the mayor. The food consists chiefly of milk, vegetable purées and other soups, maccaroni, semolina, and tapioca, with very little or no meat.

Many of the large towns in France are spending great sums in feeding the children in the *écoles maternelles*. Marseilles has made all the feeding in them free. St. Etienne charges three halfpence, for which wine is given.

The *écoles maternelles*, like the other French schools, are inspected at least twice a month by the medical inspector; but besides these there is a large staff of special lady inspectors.

With regard to medical inspection of Paris schools, it must be remembered that in every district there is, under the *caisse des écoles*, a free dispensary for children subsidized by the municipality. Here children from the schools can have baths, hair cut and washed,

medical advice with regard to teeth, eyes, ears, etc. ; while a free distribution of cod liver oil is made to necessitous children in the winter.

It is difficult to give any idea of the school program in a few words. It includes games, manual work, such as building with bricks or cards and making artificial flowers, the first principles of moral education, knowledge of everyday things, drawing, and lessons on language. Reading is taught to children over five, but not much insisted on. The little talks on familiar subjects are, perhaps, what strike one most. Take this, for instance : "The house, the kitchen. Let the child describe it. What can we see? Kitchen fire, table, etc. The use of each object. What does mother do? Each child? Cat? Children should help their parents without complaining." Or this : "The pocket handkerchief. What is it? What is its use? Blowing your nose, spitting. Each must have a handkerchief. How to use it. Unfold, refold."

Simple, familiar topics, such as these, afford the best opportunities for inducing children to talk ; and nothing is more important in dealing with the little ones from neglected homes.

The Ecole Maternelle in Other Countries.

France does not stand alone with regard to nursery schools. In Belgium an *école gardienne*, as it is called, is attached to every *crèche*, and is managed on much the same lines as the *écoles maternelles*.

Germany, Switzerland, Portugal and Hungary all have their maternal schools or kindergartens.

In Hungary* they are excellent. Early in the nineteenth century, a Countess of Brunswick, having been much impressed by the infant schools of Owen's follower, Wilderspin, in England, came back to Hungary, and urged the claims of infant education just at the moment when reform was rife there.

A normal school for training infant teachers was founded so early as 1837, and in 1875 kindergartens were recognized by the State as a definite form of public instruction.

By an Act of Parliament, passed in 1891, attendance at a kindergarten is compulsory for all children between the third and sixth years. These schools were dominated at first by the German idea, but by 1899, when Miss Catherine Dodd visited the country, the language, songs, and games used in them were markedly national in character, showing the influence of Hungarian life and history. One game, for instance, represented the shepherds taking care of their herds on the plains, and guarding them from the wolves which came down from the mountains ; while another showed traces of the Hungarian struggles with the Turks. Weary soldiers march to fight the Turks. The village rouses into activity ; the baker, the winepresser, the housewife, the tailor, and the shoemaker, all set to work to feed, clothe, and house the soldiers.

* Report on Hungarian Education, Special Reports, Vol. 8, p. 498.

"I visited a village kindergarten this year [she writes]. The village lay among vineyards in a celebrated wine district on the Danube. In front of the building was a large canvas tent covering a great patch of sand, and here, sheltered from the sun, were fifty bare legged mites playing. They played games which were characteristic of the district. There was a wind game, and the children imitated the wind which blew the boats along the Danube. There was a game of making wine casks. Groups of children formed the cask, and the other children walked round, hammering in imaginary nails; while other children cut down imaginary trees to make the casks. There were one hundred and fifty children in this kindergarten. They were all in charge of one qualified teacher and her little maid servant. Everybody admitted that the staff was small, but they urged that it was a poor district. The town kindergartens are well staffed and fitted up with all necessary apparatus.

"I found a class of five year old children, sitting on benches out of doors under the acacia trees, building with Gift III. They smiled at us and cried out, 'Tzten hozta' ('God has brought you'); and they showed the bridges to cross the Danube, the wells to get water on the plains, the mills to grind corn, which they had built.

"All kindergarten teachers play the violin. In the games and songs the teacher is leader. She marches first, playing her violin, and the children follow, singing. . . . I spent a day in a kindergarten training school during the examinations. In the garden we found some twenty girls, with their violins, practising the national songs of Hungary. They marched round the garden, singing and playing in chorus, until they were called in to meet the examiner.

"All kindergartens in Hungary must have open playing places shaded with trees. Children under three may be admitted, but, as the regulation quaintly states, not in swaddling clothes."

Though Hungary is the only country where the attendance of children under five is compulsory, yet we have seen that in all, except England there is some recognition of State responsibility with regard to children below school age; and it is clear that something must be done in this direction before long. It is, therefore, most important that the question should be thoroughly ventilated.

The proposal made in the Minority Poor Law Report that the entire supervision of maternity and infancy, and the administration of whatever public provision is made for these services should be in the hands of the local health authority has, of course, a very important bearing on it. This proposal would, if fully carried out, remove entirely from the domain of the education authority any public day nurseries or nursery schools which may be decided on. The common sense view seems to be that throughout the life of the child its interests should be guarded both by the education authority and the health authority; but that the province of the latter, which would at first cover the whole field, would become gradually more restricted. At the stage when health considerations are predominant, the local health authority must undertake the administration, making use of the teachers of the education authority as required; at the stage when educational considerations are predominant, the administration must be in the hands of the education authority, making use of the doctors of the health authority as required. In the crèche there should be, as in France, daily medical inspection, and the management should be chiefly in the hands of doctors; but even here questions for the educational expert will arise with reference to the qualification of the staff and the training of the older infants. In the nursery school, the medical inspection required will be almost as frequent, but the educational point of view will need to be rather more adequately represented in the committee of management.

How this joint action of the local health authority and the local education authority can best be attained, at all stages of the child's life, is a question of administration with which we need not meddle here,* but it seems desirable that there should be no sudden break at any age. The establishment of public crèches, under the direct control of the local health authority, would be an invaluable supplement to the system of combining the work of health visitors, either paid or unpaid, with that of the medical officer of health and his staff. This system, already successfully established in many parts of London, aims at keeping under observation every infant from the time of its birth by means of friendly visits of advice. As things are at present, a health visitor is often harrowed by the hopeless conditions into which a baby is born, and feels that her advice is little better than a mockery. Mothers are often quite unable, either from poor health or from the dire necessity of bread winning, to nurse their babies or attend to their constant needs; but there are worse cases still where, from sheer lack of any alternative, a new born infant must be left to the tender mercies of a drunken or dissolute mother, whose one precaution is to insure its life.

In cases of this kind, a public crèche, to which the medical officer of health had power to order the removal of any neglected infant, would be a great resource. Such enforced removal would never happen, of course, in the case of any decent home or of any mother who was nursing her child; but as an alternative for the casual minder, the feeble grandmother, or the ten year old sister, it would be invaluable.

The question of payment would have to be settled as in the case of school feeding, after inquiry into the family resources, and need not in any way interfere with the decision of the medical officer. The cases that would come before him may be classified as:—

1. Temporary.

Homes even of the best type are liable to be disorganized from time to time by the disablement of the mother or father, or by some other unavoidable misfortune; and the temporary removal of young children to a safe refuge affords invaluable help towards tiding over such a period, while it saves them from the evil consequences of neglect.

2. Wage Earning Mothers.

During the first three or four months of an infant's life, the mother might well be restrained by law from going out to work, home aliment being provided in necessitous cases; but as the child grows older, some mothers will certainly desire to return to their work, and provided that they are not in receipt of public assistance for the children, conditional on their devoting themselves to the care of the children, there seems no adequate reason why they should not do so.

* Cf. Minority Poor Law Report (Official Edition), Note on p. 1224.

3. Homes that have been or ought to be Broken Up.

The widower or deserted husband has no choice at present but to pay a neighbor to look after his children, a service often most unsatisfactorily performed; but there are cases even more piteous. Bad health, bad habits, or merely unemployment on the part of the father, slatternly incompetence, or something worse, on the part of the mother, bring about a gradual and hopeless deterioration of the household which renders it unfit for little children to live in. Under such circumstances, it is essential that the medical authority should have power to order their removal to a public nursery, where they will be entirely under the parental control of the State.*

Reforms to Work for.

1. That the age for compulsory school attendance be raised to six, with a corresponding addition at the other end, making the compulsory period from six to at least fifteen or even older.

2. That the medical officer have power to enforce the attendance at a suitable nursery school of any child under six who is not suitably cared for at home.

3. That every local authority be required to provide adequately for children from three to six in free nursery schools, with sleeping accommodation and ample open air and covered playgrounds, and no teaching of the three R's.

4. That at such schools suitable meals be provided at the expense of the rates, table manners being an integral part of the curriculum.

5. That every local authority be also required to provide boarding schools in the country to serve as convalescent and holiday homes for the children attending nursery schools who are found by the medical officer to need country air, and also for the reception of children removed from their parents by the order of the medical authority.

6. That sufficient accommodation be provided in every district for infants under three in small day nurseries under the control of the local authority, such nurseries to be entirely free.

7. That the feeding of the children at these day nurseries be under direct medical supervision, mothers being encouraged to attend regularly for the purpose of suckling their infants.

8. That in connection with every such nursery there shall be a "school for mothers," or "consultation for nurslings," where babies may be brought by their mothers for free medical inspection and advice, and where pure and suitable milk will be provided free or at cost price.

* Minority Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law, p. 825, par. 2.

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A REPLY TO MR. MALLOCK.

BY BERNARD SHAW.

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SOCIALISM AND SUPERIOR BRAINS.

PREFATORY NOTE.

In January, 1909, Mr. Keir Hardie delivered an address in which he pointed out that the remarkable increase in our national income, of which so much was being said in the controversy then raging between Free Traders and Tariff Reformers, had not been shared by the working classes, who were no better off than before. Immediately Mr. W. H. Mallock wrote to *The Times* accusing Mr. Keir Hardie of ignorance of political economy, on the ground that an educated man would have known that as the increase had been produced by the exceptional ability of the employers and inventors, there was no reason to claim any share of it for the employee class. Thereupon I lost patience with Mr. Mallock and wrote the following letter to *The Times*.

MR. MALLOCK'S IDEALS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—Mr. Mallock's controversy with Mr. Chiozza-Money over the figures of Mr. Keir Hardie may very well be left to the embarrassed silence in which good-natured people sit when a person of some distinction volunteers an absurd blunder as a contribution to a subject which he has not mastered. The notion that the people who are now spending in week-end hotels, in motor cars, in Switzerland, the Riviera, and Algeria the remarkable increase in unearned incomes noted by Mr. Keir Hardie have ever invented anything, ever directed anything, ever even selected their own investments without the aid of a stockbroker or solicitor, ever as much as seen the industries from which their incomes are derived, betrays not only the most rustic ignorance of economic theory, but a practical ignorance of society so incredible in a writer of Mr. Mallock's position that I find it exceedingly difficult to persuade my fellow Socialists that he really believes what he teaches. They regard me as a cynic when I tell them that even the cleverest man will believe anything he wishes to believe, in spite of all the facts and all the text-books in the world.

However, that is not the point that moves me to utterance on this occasion. If Mr. Mallock does not know the difference between the rents of land and capital and the "rent of ability"—if he is so ignorant of ordinary business and patent law as not to know that the cleverest inventor cannot possibly extract a farthing more from his invention than his stupidest competitor when it has been communized 14 years after its registration—he must not expect the Socialists to educate him. My quarrel with him is deeper than the technics of distribution. Mr. Mallock is preaching an ideal; and I want every gentleman in England to repudiate that ideal, whether he be Socialist, Individualist, Liberal, Free Fooder, Tariff Reformer, or Home Ruler.

The ideal is, not that the greatest among you shall be servants of all the rest, but that whenever one of us discovers a means of increasing wealth and happiness, steps should be taken to restrict the increase to the discoverer alone, leaving the rest of the community as poor as if the discovery had never been made. If Mr. Mallock does not mean this, he means nothing. If he does mean it, what does his University say to him? What does the Church say to him? What does every officer in the Army and Navy say to him? What does every Civil servant say to him, every statesman, every member of the humblest local authority, every professional man, every country gentleman, every man of honor, gentle or simple, who asks no more than a sufficient and dignified subsistence in return for the best service he is capable of giving to his country and to the world? This is not a question of the difference between the Socialist and the anti-Socialist: it is a question of the difference between the gentleman and the cad. Lord Lansdowne is not a Socialist, and Lord Charles Beresford is not a Socialist; but Lord Lansdowne has not asked for the hundreds of

millions he saved Europe by making our treaty with Japan, and Lord Charles Beresford, if the German fleet attacked ours, would not refuse to conduct our naval defence unless the country were to be given to him as prize money when he had saved it. It is true that we have tradesmen—some of them in business on a very large scale both here and in America—impudent enough and base enough to demand for themselves every farthing that their business ability adds to the wealth of their country. If these *canaille* were surgeons with a monopoly of a capital operation, they would refuse to save a patient's life until they had extorted his entire fortune as a fee. If they were judges, they would sneer at a judge's modest £5,000 a year, and demand the total insurance value of the protection they afforded to society. If they were lifeboat coxswains or firemen, they would bargain for the kit of a drowning sailor or the nighty of a child in a burning house before they would throw a lifebuoy or mount a ladder. They are justly despised by men of Mr. Mallock's profession and education; and when Mr. Mallock challenges the right of our workmen to a share in the increased product of industry by asking whether their labor "has become more productive in respect of the laborer's own exclusive operations," he not only lays himself open to the obvious counter-question as to whether the "exclusive operations" of our employers could produce anything more than the exclusive operations of our laborers, but, what is far more serious, he seems to be lending the credit of his reputation, his education, and the high social and intellectual prestige of his class to the most abandoned sort of blackguardism that is still outside the criminal law.

It is fortunate for us that few of our tradesmen are so vile or so silly as the commercial theory by which theorists attempt to justify them. The man who has "made" £20,000 a year for himself knows very well that his success does not afford the smallest presumption that his services have been more important than those of a police-constable with 24s. a week. He does not dream of posing as the superior of the captain of a battleship with a modest income of three figures. Mr. Carnegie "divides up" his surplus millions, and makes wildly Socialistic proposals, never for a moment suggesting that he is 50 times as clever as Mr. Mallock because he is 50 times as rich. I am not supposed to be an exceptionally modest man; but I did not advance the fact that I have made more money by a single play than Shakespear did by all his plays put together as a simple proof that I am enormously superior to Shakespear as a playwright. Our millionaires unload—awkwardly and unwisely sometimes, it is true, but still they unload—and do not talk nonsense about being 650 times as clever or as sober or as industrious as a dock-laborer because they have 650 times his income. The man who pretends that the distribution of income in this country reflects the distribution of ability or character is an ignoramus. The man who says that it could by any possible political device be made to do so is an unpractical visionary. But the man who says that it ought to do so is something worse than an ignoramus and more disastrous than a visionary: he is, in the profoundest Scriptural sense of the word, a fool.

In conclusion, may I confess that nothing is so terrifying to the Socialist to-day as the folly of his opponents? There is nothing to keep the inevitable advance steady, to force the rank and file to keep their best men forward. A paper called *The Anti-Socialist* is brought out with a flourish of trumpets. I open it, and find *vers de société* and a caricature of myself by a French artist, who depicts me in a French frock-coat, a Grand Old Man collar, and the countenance of Henri Rochefort. A Belgian navy is labelled "Ramsay Macdonald": an American knockabout from the *café chantant* is carefully marked "Keir Hardie." Is it worth while to spend so much money to provide our Socialist debaters with footballs? If the Socialists did not know the difficulties of Socialism better than their opponents, and were not therefore far sterner Tories than the tariff reformers and far sounder Liberals than the free-traders; if all decent men were not nine-tenths Socialists to begin with, whether they know it or not; if there were any possibility of controversy as to the fundamental proposition of Socialism that whoever does not by the work of his prime repay the debt of his nurture and education, support himself in his working days, and provide for his retirement, inflicts on society precisely the same injury as a thief, then indeed the prospect would be black for civilization. As it is, I will continue to back the red flag against the black one; and with that I leave the Anti-Socialist League to sweep up the fragments of Mr. Mallock and produce their next champion.

Yours truly,

G. BERNARD SHAW.

Feb. 2.

Mr. Mallock made two replies to this letter. The first was sent to *The Times*, the readers of which had had my letter before them. It is practically a surrender without a blow. The second was sent to the other daily papers, the readers of which had not seen my letter. It is an attempt to retreat in fighting order.

The *Times* letter is as follows.

MR. BERNARD SHAW ON MR. MALLOCK.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *TIMES*.

Sir,—If Mr. Bernard Shaw cares to look into the pages of my "Critical Examination of Socialism," he will find the opinion or "ideal" which he attributes to me stated with the most minute precision and emphatically repudiated. So far as I myself am concerned, his long letter is absolutely without relevance.

I am your obedient servant,

February 5.

W. H. MALLOCK.

The letter to the other papers ran thus :

MR. MALLOCK AND G. B. SHAW.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *MORNING ADVERTISER*.

Sir,—Mr. Shaw, although in his letter to the press, published this morning, he diverges into a variety of details, says that his main object is to criticise an opinion, or an "ideal" which he imputes to myself. —The ideal translates itself into the doctrine that whatever increment of wealth is produced by ability as distinct from labor ought to be entirely appropriated by the gifted individual producing it, and that nobody else should receive from it any benefit. I have no right to demand that Mr. Shaw should read my writings, but it is reasonable to demand that he should read them before he attempts to criticise my opinions or "ideals." If he had taken the trouble to read my "Critical Examination of Socialism," he would have found that the particular ideal or opinion which he imputes to me is described in that book with the utmost precision, but is described only that it may be in precise terms repudiated.

On page 202 he will find the following passages :—"If, therefore, the claims of labor are based on, and limited to, the amount of wealth which is produced by labor itself . . . what labor would receive would be far less, not more, than what it receives to-day. . . . Is it, then, here contended, many readers will ask, that if matters are determined by ideal justice, or anything like practical wisdom, the remuneration of labor in general ought henceforth to be lessened, or, at all events, precluded from any possibility of increase? . . . If anyone thinks that such is the conclusion which is here suggested, let him suspend his opinion until we return to it, as we shall do, and deal with it in a more comprehensive way." This question is taken up again, page 283, as follows :—"Is it, then, the reader will ask, the object of the present volume to suggest that the true course of social reform in the future . . . would be to bind down the majority to the little maximum they could produce by their own unaided efforts? The object of this volume is the precise opposite. It is not to suggest that they should possess no more than they produce. It is to place their claim to a surplus not produced by themselves on a true instead of a fantastic basis." Mr. Shaw may be left to read what follows if he pleases.

With regard to two other definite points, he touches farther on what he calls my opinions, or my "rustic ignorance" of economics. One of these relates to the "rent of ability." If he turns to pages 191-193 of my "Critical Examination of Socialism," he will find this question discussed with great minuteness, the truth contained in the doctrine held by himself and other Socialists admitted and endorsed, and an element in the problem, which is yet more important, but to which they are entirely blind, specified. With regard to what Mr. Shaw says about conflagrations and "babies' nighties," he will find this precise point anticipated and dealt with on page 122, "Critical Examination." I have, let me repeat, no right to claim that Mr. Shaw should read a line of anything I have written; but if in attempting to criticise the opinions and "ideals" of a writer, he imputes to him an ignorance or neglect of problems, *e.g.*, the rent of ability, which he has discussed far more minutely than has

Mr. Shaw himself, and attributes to him opinions which he has elaborately repudiated, Mr. Shaw will have hardly added to his reputation as a critic either of economic theory or of anything else. Mr. Shaw writes about myself very much as a man would write who mistook the Book of Genesis for the Koran.

I am, Sir, yours, etc.,

February 5, 1909.

W. H. MALLOCK.

I am usually willing "to build a bridge of silver for a flying foe," but in this case I cannot let Mr. Mallock off without pursuing him to utter extinction. The book to which Mr. Mallock refers as shewing that he has dealt with my argument does nothing of the kind: it reaffirms his error as strongly as he knows how to do it. Even if it contained a recantation, I should still have to deal with his unprovoked attack on Mr. Keir Hardie, and with his "Short Epitome of Eight Lectures on the Principal Fallacies of Socialism," in which he speaks of the Socialist "promise of distributing among the great mass of the population that portion of the annual income *which is at present in the hands of an exceptionally able minority.*"

But the Critical Examination of Socialism contains no recantation. What it does contain is a statement that though everything that men enjoy over and above what a savage can wring from nature with his unaided hands is due to the exceptional ability of the few (represented, Mr. Mallock implies, by our rich class to-day) yet it is not expedient to strip them of everything they possess above that level, as otherwise they would have no interest in civilization, and would revolt. Therefore Mr. Mallock promises to shew, in a future book, how society can be arranged so as to give us all just enough to bribe us to allow the rich to remain in undisturbed enjoyment of their present position. If anyone doubts the fairness of this description of Mr. Mallock's last chapter, the book is easily accessible in the excellent cheap edition published by John Murray in November, 1908. In spite of the extravagance of the fundamental proposition of the book, which is that what a man produces is "that amount of wealth which would not have been produced at all had his efforts not been made" (pp. 206-7), thereby making every necessary laborer the producer of the entire wealth of the world, it is well worth reading, because it happens that any prejudice that may still linger against Socialism is almost wholly based on such childish ignorance of existing social conditions, and defended by such absurd arguments, that Mr. Mallock is forced by his sense of intellectual honor to begin by making a clean sweep of the blunders of his own supporters. In doing so, he knocks the bottom out of Unsocialism as effectively as in his religious polemics he has knocked the bottom out of the vulgar sectarianism that passes for religion in this country. His object is to clear the ground for his own peculiar Individualism and Catholicism; but he has cleared it equally for the Fabian Society, which has the same interest as Mr. Mallock in dispelling ignorance and confusion of thought. Besides, it is as well that the world should know that just as it seems clear to many laborers that the men who walk about in frock coats and tall hats, talking and writing letters,

are not workers at all, and produce nothing, so these very frock-coated men believe, like Mr. Mallock, that the hired laborer is a brainless machine that owes the very fuel and grease that keep it working to the intelligence of the class that exploits it.

However, I need not argue the case with Mr. Mallock now. It happens that in 1894 a wave of discussion of Socialism was passing over the press. Mr. Mallock was then already ventilating his theory that the distribution of wealth in this country into big fortunes for the few and pittances for the many, corresponds to the natural division of the British race into a handful of geniuses and many millions of mediocrities. His diagrams are still extant to shew the lengths to which he went. Mr. Frank Harris was then editing *The Fortnightly Review*. He asked me could I answer Mr. Mallock. I replied boyishly that any Socialist over the age of six could knock Mr. Mallock into a cocked hat. He invited me to try my hand; and the result was the following essay, which appeared in the *Review* in April, 1894. I emphasize the date to shew that Mr. Mallock has had plenty of time to consider my case and answer it. When he put forth his *Critical Examination of Socialism* and accused Mr. Keir Hardie of illiterate ignorance, he forgot that his own *Unsocialism* had been critically examined, and that Mr. Keir Hardie had all the classic economists, from Adam Smith to Cairnes, at his back. Mr. Keir Hardie is, in fact, on this subject, demonstrably a better read and better informed authority than Mr. Mallock.

I reprint my arguments as they appeared in 1894. During the fifteen years since, Oblivion has made a few topical allusions unintelligible, and Death has changed some present tenses into past ones. I have dealt with these by a few inessential alterations, and omitted some chaff and some literary digressions; but the case against Mr. Mallock stands as it did.

SOCIALISM AND SUPERIOR BRAINS.

MR. MALLOCK'S general proposition is, that exceptional personal ability is the main factor in the production of wealth, and that the Fabian essayists, by failing to grasp this, have greatly exaggerated the efficiency of mere labor in the production of wealth. Let me see whether the irrepressible smile which this accusation has produced upon the countenances of the essayists can be transferred to those of the public, and finally to that of Mr. Mallock himself.

First, it is clear that such huge populations as ours really do owe their very existence to what Mr. Mallock defines as Ability, and not to what he defines as Labor. The whole advantage of a Transatlantic steamship over a man paddling on a tree-trunk, of a Great Northern express over a pilgrim's staff, of a Nasmyth steam hammer over the lump of stone which St. Jerome uses to beat his breast in the pictures of the Old Masters, or of a power-loom over the plaiting power of the fingers: all this is the product, not of Labor, but of Ability. Give Labor its due, says Mr. Mallock, and it will receive only what it could produce if Ability had never existed. Now this would clearly be much less than enough to support even a fragment of our present population. Therefore, since Labor gets enough at present to keep it half alive or so, it must get more than its due (Mr. Mallock calculates forty per cent. more, though surely several thousand per cent. would be nearer the mark); and the excess is a clear tribute levied upon Ability for the benefit of Labor. I take it that this is an inexpugnable proposition. Far from repudiating it, as Mr. Mallock would seem to expect, I embrace it in the spirit in which Mrs. Gamp asked Mrs. Prig, "Who deniges of it, Betsy?" What on earth use would Ability be to us if it did not lighten our toil and increase our gain? We support and encourage Ability in order that we may get as much as possible out of it, not in order that it may get as much as possible out of us. Mr. Mallock seems to regard this as dishonest. Possibly it is; but it is the sole safeguard for the existence of men of Ability. Give them and their heirs the entire product of their ability, so that they shall be enormously rich whilst the rest of us remain just as poor as if they had never existed; and it will become a public duty to kill them, since nobody but themselves will be any the worse, and we shall be much the better for having no further provocation to the sin of envy.

The Able Inventor.

This does not seem to have struck Mr. Mallock until the first appearance of this article in 1894. He had been preoccupied by the danger of the opposite extreme—that of grabbing the entire product of exceptional ability, and thus depriving it of its commercial

incentive to action. Fortunately, society is not bound to go to either extreme: its business from the commercial point of view is to get the use of ability as cheaply as it can for the benefit of the community, giving the able man just enough advantage to keep his ability active and efficient, if it should really turn out that able men will act stupidly unless they are given extra pay. From the Unsocialist point of view this is simply saying that it is the business of society to find out exactly how far it can rob the able man of the product of his ability without injuring itself, which is precisely true (from that point of view), though whether it is a reduction of Socialism to dishonesty or of Unsoci-alism to absurdity may be left an open question. Happily we need not dwell on the moral question, since we have long ago adopted the Socialist point of view in every case in which the working of our industrial system admits of it. Take Mr. Mallock's pet example, the inventor. His ability produces untold millions. Machine after machine is invented of which we are told that it has multiplied the productivity of labor twice, ten times, two hundred times, fourteen thousand times, and so on beyond the bounds of belief; and processes are devised by which metals are so strengthened that the formerly impossible is now possible, the gain being consequently incalculable. What do we do with the public benefactors who shew us how to perform these marvels? Do we allow them and their remotest posterity to wallow in the full product of their ability, and so lose all incentive to further exertion? Not a bit of it. We announce to them our intention of making their invention public property in fourteen years time, during which, provided they pay us certain fees for the privilege, we allow them by patent such a power of veto on the use of the invention as enables them to secure during that period a share—and only a share—of its product. If at the end of the fourteen years they can prove to us that their invention has made its way so slowly that they have not been reasonably repaid for their actual expenditure in time and money, we may perhaps extend their privilege for a further short period. But after that comes naked Socialistic expropriation, making the use of the invention free to the stupid and the clever alike.

The Able Author.

To vary the illustration, let us take the case of Mr. Mallock himself. For aught we know, Mr. Mallock's novels may outlive Don Quixote and Tom Jones; and his economic essays may stand as long as Aristotle's. The difference in value between a page of one of his works and the advertisement sheet of a daily newspaper is wholly due to his ability, ability of an order which it is admittedly the highest duty of statesmanship to encourage to the utmost. Yet how socialistically we treat Mr. Mallock! We reward his exertions by an offer to lend him his own books for forty-two years, after which the dullest bookseller in the land will be free to send his works to the printer and sell them without paying a farthing to the author's heirs. And nobody suggests, as far as I know, that

if we were to extend the duration of patents and copyrights to a million years, we should get one book or one invention the more by it.

Now let us suppose that on the expiration of Mr. Mallock's copyrights the cheap bookseller of the period were to make £10,000 by getting out a cheap edition of *The New Republic*, and were to call his gains the product of literary genius. The statement would be quite accurate; but if he were to go on to claim any special sacredness (say from taxation) for his £10,000 on that account, he would be promptly met by the question, *Whose* literary genius? And when he replied, as he would have to, "Well, William Hurrell Mallock's genius," his fellow citizens would certainly inform him that they were not, if they could help it, going to privilege him because somebody else was a great writer. Now I will not say that any railway shareholder to-day is so absurd as to plume himself on the fact that his dividends are the product of inventive genius, leaving it to be inferred that the genius is his own and not George Stephenson's; but passage after passage in Mr. Mallock's anti-Socialist writings either means that a railway dividend is the reward of the ability which invented the locomotive steam-engine or else means nothing at all. The obvious fact that the interest on railway stock in this country is paid mostly to people who could not invent a wheelbarrow, much less a locomotive, he treats as an ingenious Fabian paradox. And a cool assumption that every child, every woman of fashion, every man about town, every commonplace lady or gentleman who holds shares in an electric lighting company, or a telephone company, or a Transatlantic steamship company, is a Wheatstone, a Bell, an Edison, a Bessemer, a Watt, or a Stephenson, he gravely reasons upon, and takes as a basis for elaborate statistical calculations and startling diagrams, as if it were sober sense instead of the most laughably extravagant bluff that has ever been attempted, even in a controversy on Socialism. I am convinced that Mr. Mallock himself, now that I have placed his argument naked before him, will throw himself on the mercy of the town, and ask whether it is likely that so clever a man as he could have meant anything so outrageous. But there are his figures, graphic and arithmetical, to shew that he meant that interest on capital is the price of exceptional ability, and that profits include payment for every human invention, from the potter's wheel to the marine steam-engine. Let me not here seem to disparage his common sense offensively. I cannot seriously believe that if some relative were to leave him a million of money, he would say to his stockbroker, "I am not satisfied with being a well-known author: I wish to be a great engineer too; so buy me some Manchester Ship Canal stock. I also yearn for fame as an aviator: get me instantly a few shares in the company which manufactured Monsieur Bleriot's aeroplane. As I wish to secure immortality as a great sculptor, I shall call a great statue into existence by my capital: no doubt Monsieur Rodin or some other professional person will put in the mere manual labor for a few thousand guineas. I have also, I must confess, a curious longing to be

remembered as a famous actress: I shall therefore build a theatre and engage Sarah Bernhardt, Eleonora Duse, and one or two other female proletarians, who, without the aid of capital, would be selling oranges like Nell Gwynne." I feel sure Mr. Mallock has far too much ability to go on in any such insane way; and I even believe that if a laborer were to write articles claiming that labor was so mighty that one workman could with a single stroke knead a mass of metal as if it were a lump of dough or slice a bar of steel like a cucumber, Mr. Mallock would smash such idiotic pretensions with the utmost brilliancy. Therefore, as I say, I am loth to trip him up for having advanced cognate pretensions on behalf of the shareholding class. I had rather by far hold my tongue; and I would have done so if only Mr. Mallock would leave the Fabians and Mr. Keir Hardie, who never injured him, unmolested. Why cannot a man write bad political economy without coupling it with an attack on the Fabian Society? The profit is naught; the retribution sudden, swift, and fearful.

Ability at Supply-and-Demand Prices.

The facts about "rent of ability" are not so simple as Mr. Mallock thinks. To begin with, the price of ability does not depend on merit, but on supply and demand. Plato was, on the whole, a greater author than Old Moore, the almanack maker; but if he were alive now he would not make so much money by his books. When Ibsen died he was unquestionably the greatest dramatist of the nineteenth century; but he was very far indeed from being the richest. Great philosophers and poets are apt to starve because, as their wares are above the heads of the public, there is no demand and therefore no price, although the commodity offered is very scarce and precious. But when the ability is of a sort everyone can appreciate, or, above all, that can make money or cure illness, there is no lack of demand. Sometimes there is no lack of supply either: for instance, in a modern city the policemen, the firemen, the sewer-men, are supposed to save property, life, and health wholesale: yet their ability is to be had without stint for twenty-four shillings a week or thereabouts, because the supply is large. Not so the supply of popular portrait-painters, novelists, dramatists, consultant physicians, special pleaders, and directors and organizers of industry. These popular persons get large sums, not because their talents are more useful to society than those of the policemen, but solely because they are scarcer. LAW OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND

Imaginary Ability.

I say popular persons rather than able persons; for the public is often a very bad judge of ability. For example, there died a short time ago a barrister who once acquired extraordinary celebrity as an Old Bailey advocate, especially in murder cases. When he was at his zenith I read all his most famous defences, and can certify that he always missed the strong point in his client's case and the weak one in the case for the prosecution, and was, in short,

the most homicidally incompetent impostor that ever bullied a witness or made a "moving" but useless appeal to a jury. Fortunately for him the murderers were too stupid to see this: besides, their imaginations were powerfully impressed by the number of clients of his who were hanged. So they always engaged him, and added to his fame by getting hanged themselves in due course. In the same way a surgeon will get a reputation as the only possible man to consult in cancer cases simply because he has cut off more breasts than anyone else. The fact that in all the professions there is one first favorite means no more than the fact that there is only one editor of *The Times*. It is not the man who is singular, but the position. The public imagination demands a best man everywhere; and if Nature does not supply him the public invents him. The art of humbug is the art of getting invented in this way. Every generation invents great men at whom posterity laughs when some accident makes it aware of them. Even in business, the greatest reputations are sometimes the result of the glamor of city superstition. I could point to railway chairmen reputed indispensable, whom the shareholders and the travelling public might with great profit and comfort to themselves send to St. Helena with a pension of £10,000 a year.

The Ability that Gives Value for Money.

But in business, as a rule, a man must make what he gets and something over into the bargain. I have known a man to be employed by a firm of underwriters to interview would-be insurers. His sole business was to talk to them and decide whether to insure or not. Salary, £4,000 a year. This meant that the loss of his judgment would have cost his employers more than £4,000 a year. Other men have an eye for contracts or what not, or are born captains of industry, in which cases they go into business on their own account, and make ten, twenty, or two hundred per cent. where you or I would lose five. Or, to turn back a moment from the giants to the minnows, take the case of a woman with a knack of cutting out a dress. She gets six guineas a week instead of eighteen shillings. Or she has perhaps a ladylike air and a figure on which a mantle looks well. For these she can get several guineas a week merely by standing in a show-room letting mantles be tried on her before customers. All these people are renters of ability, and their ability is inseparable from them and dies with them. The excess of their gains over those of an ordinary person with the same capital and education is the "rent" of their exceptional "fertility." But observe: if the able person makes £100,000, and leaves that to his son, who, being but an ordinary gentleman, can only get from two and a half to four per cent. on it, that revenue is pure interest on capital and in no sense whatever rent of ability. Its confiscation would set an idle man to work instead of depriving ability of its motive for exertion. When the late Lord Goschen was Chancellor of the Exchequer, he confiscated a half per cent. of the interest on Consols without checking the exercise of

ability in the least. Later on, when the value of even the reduced Consols was further reduced twenty-five per cent. by the South African War, and simultaneously the Income Tax (which is pure confiscation) jumped up to a shilling in the pound, the effect was not to dull our wits but to sharpen them. Raise a tradesman's rent (a very common form of private confiscation) and he works harder, not softer.

Waste of Ability and Inflation of its Price by The Idle Rich.

Let us consider now how far exceptional payments depend really on the ability of the earner, and how far on the social conditions under which they occur. To begin with a striking instance. A famous painter charges, and gets, 2,000 guineas for painting a portrait. Such a price is rendered possible solely by the existence of a class of patrons so rich that the payment of 2,000 guineas inflicts less privation on them than the payment of sixpence to an itinerant photographer on Hampstead Heath inflicts on a courting costermonger. These portraits are as often as not portraits of persons of average or inferior ability. If such persons had to earn the price of their portraits by their own labor, they would not pay two guineas, much less 2,000, for a portrait. On the other hand, the painter demands 2,000 guineas solely because he finds that he can get it, not in the least because his genius refuses to operate under a weaker stimulus. He will paint as good a portrait for £50 as for £2,000 if £50 is the top of his market: greater painting than any yet produced in Melbury Road or Fitzjohn's Avenue has been worse paid than that. The fashionable physician, the surgeon pre-eminently skilled in some dangerous operation, the Parliamentary barrister, all owe the excess of their incomes over that of, say, a cabinet minister, to the competition among enormously rich people or huge companies for their services. In order to state the case in the most foolish possible way, let me put it that modern Capitalism has created thousands of guineas' worth of professional ability where only tens and hundreds existed before. All that this means is that it has raised the price of certain sorts of ability twenty-fold without at all improving their quality. And in enabling idle rich people to buy up the best of this ability, it has greatly wasted and nullified it. The eminent painter paints unmemorable people; the fashionable physician preserves the lives of useless people; the Parliamentary barrister would be more useful to society as an upper division clerk in the legal branch of some public department. Generally speaking, it may be said that our capitalists pay men of ability very highly to devote their ability to the service of Capitalism; and the moment society begins to outgrow the capitalistic system, it is no longer permissible to assume that ability devoted to the service of Capitalism is serviceable to society, or, indeed, that ability which can only flourish in that way is, from the social point of view, ability at all.

Artificial Rent of Ability.

One result of that social inequality which Capitalism produces, and which Mr. Mallock admires as innocently as Pendenis admired Miss Fotheringay, is to produce an enormous artificial rent of ability. Just as high farming increases the yield of an acre of land, so education may increase the yield of a man. But high farming cannot increase the natural rent of an acre, since all the other acres can be high-farmed too; so that the difference between the worst acre and the best (otherwise the "economic rent") can be reduced finally by equality of cultivation until it is no longer greater than the natural difference in fertility. Just so, by educating everybody, the social advantage which the educated man now has over the uneducated one can be destroyed, as it has been in the upper classes to-day. Again, enormous salaries are now paid to men because they add to ordinary business qualifications the habits and "manners and tone" of people who have unearned incomes of £10,000 a year and upward. By doing away with such incomes of idleness, society could make such habits impossible, and such manners and tone ridiculous. If Mr. Mallock will only consider that at present the mass of our population is so poor that any presentable sort of literateness or social amenity, down even to personal cleanliness and a reasonable reticence in the matter of expectoration, has a distinct scarcity value, he may gain some faint suspicion of how much of that £490,000,000 a year which we pay in profits and salaries represents rent, not of natural ability, but of social opportunity.

Artificial Ability.

There is another sort of artificial superiority which also returns an artificial rent: the superiority of pure status. What are called "superiors" are just as necessary in social organization as a keystone is in an arch; but the keystone is made of no better material than many other parts of a bridge: its importance is conferred on it by its position, not its position by its importance. If half-a-dozen men are cast adrift in a sailing boat, they will need a captain. It seems simple enough for them to choose the ablest man; but there may easily be no ablest man. The whole six, or four out of the six, or two out of the six, may be apparently equally fit for the post. In that case, the captain must be elected by lot; but the moment he assumes his authority, that authority makes him at once literally the ablest man in the boat. He has the powers which the other five have given him for their own good. Take another instance. Napoleon gained the command of the French army because he was the ablest general in France. But suppose every individual in the French army had been a Napoleon also! None the less a commander-in-chief, with his whole hierarchy of subalterns, would have had to be appointed—by lot if you like—and here, again, from the moment the lot was cast, the particular Napoleon who drew the straw for commander-in-chief would have been the great, the all-powerful Napoleon, much more able than the Napoleons who were corporals and privates. After a year, the difference in ability

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between the men who had been doing nothing but sentry duty, under no strain of responsibility, and the man who had been commanding the army would have been enormous. As "the defenders of the system of Conservatism" well know, we have for centuries made able men out of ordinary ones by allowing them to inherit exceptional power and status; and the success of the plan in the phase of social development to which it was proper was due to the fact that, provided only the favored man were really an ordinary man, and not a duffer, the extraordinary power conferred on him did effectually create extraordinary ability as compared with that of an agricultural laborer, for example, of equal natural endowments. The gentleman, the lord, the king, all discharging social functions of which the laborer is incapable, are products as artificial as queen bees. Their superiority is produced by giving them a superior status, just as the inferiority of the laborer is produced by giving him an inferior status. But the superior income which is the appanage of superior status is not rent of ability. It is a payment made to a man to exercise normal ability in an abnormal situation. Rent of ability is what a man gets by exercising abnormal ability in a normal situation.

How Little really goes to Ability.

If Mr. Mallock will now take his grand total of the earnings of Ability, and strike off from it, first, all rent of land and interest on capital; then all normal profits; then all non-competitive emoluments attached to a definite status in the public service, civil or military, from royalty downwards; then all payments for the advantages of secondary or technical education and social opportunities; then all fancy payments made to artists and other professional men by very rich commonplace people competing for their services; and then all exceptional payments made to men whose pre-eminence exists only in the imaginative ignorance of the public, the remainder may with some plausibility stand as genuine rent of natural ability. But in making these calculations, I would warn him against exaggerating the life incomes of the most envied professional men and skilled workers. It is not for nothing that highly educated and cultivated men go into that part of Socialism which already exists, the Civil Service, and leave the competitive prizes of the professions to be scrambled for by persons who, as a class, are by no means their superiors. In the Civil Service there is status; there is pay from the time you begin work; there are short hours and at least the possibility of good health; there is security; there is a pension; and there is early marriage without imprudence or misalliance. In the professions the beginners are forty; there is no security; health is impossible without the constitution of a thousand horses; work never ceases except during sleep and the holidays which follow the usual breakdown two or three times a year; shirking or taking things easily means ruin; the possibilities of failure are infinite; and the unsuccessful professional man is wretched, anxious, debt-crippled, and humbled beyond almost any

other unfortunate who has mistaken his vocation. If the income which a successful man makes between forty-five and sixty-five be spread over the preceding twenty years; if the severity of the brain-work as compared with that needed for any sort of routine be taken into account; and if a sufficient allowance be made for that part of the remuneration which may fairly be regarded as high interest on a frightfully risky investment, I think Mr. Mallock will begin to understand why the State can even now get into its service at moderate salaries men no less able than the professions attract, especially among those who have had a first-rate education, but who have to begin to support themselves immediately their education is finished.

The same care should be taken in estimating those high wages for manual labor which sometimes make the needy gentleman envy the boiler-maker or the steel-smelter. Such workmen, if their physique is extraordinary, can make £8 a week in the prime of life. But the prime of life does not last very long at work that fetches that price. It is as well worth a strong man's while to be a policeman with a sixth of such wages. Mr. Mallock was once greatly struck with the wages earned by the coal-hewers during the boom of 1872-3: he never tired of telling us stories of the dogs fed on beef-steaks, of the pipes with four bowls, and the rest of the evidence that the world is not going to be reformed offhand by giving £5 a week to men who have never had the chance of learning how to spend two. He might have added that mortality statistics bring out coal-mining as a healthy occupation, the truth being that when a miner is past his best working period, he has to fall back on some poorer occupation above ground, so that but few men die coal-miners. From one end to the other of the social scale nothing is more misleading than to assume, in the case of those who are paid competition wages, fees, or salaries, that they receive the top price paid in their profession or trade constantly throughout their whole working life. Further, in estimating the value of large salaries and high fees, it is necessary to take into account how much of it is mere payment of the expenses involved by the social position in which alone they can be earned. A young man building up a fashionable practice as a doctor in London cannot save a farthing out of £1,000 a year, though his personal tastes may be so inexpensive that in the Civil Service he would save £200 a year out of a salary of £400 without the least privation. As was pointed out, I think, in Fabian Essays, the servants in Dublin Castle are better paid than the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, because they can live on their wages, whereas he cannot. Mr. Mallock expresses the greatest scepticism as to the Fabian estimate of £800 a year *real* salary as sufficient to attract men of first-rate ability and education at present. No doubt it seems a trifle when one fixes one's eyes on the men who are making from £10,000 to £20,000 a year at the professions, or on the millionaires of America. But you have only to look in other directions to find men of at least equal ability and character to whom an assured income of £800 a year would be

a fortune. At all events, the hard fact remains that neither in our civil nor military services do we find it necessary to pay salaries equal to the income of a leading financier, contractor, physician, or K.C. As to chemists, biologists, astronomers, mathematicians, economists, poets, and the higher brainworkers generally, no fairly prosperous publican would look at their professional incomes.

Socialism the Paradise of the Able.

~~It seems to me that Social-Democracy would, in comparison, be the paradise of the able man.~~ Every step that we make towards it takes our industry more and more out of the hands of brutes and dullards. The fellow who in the first half of the nineteenth century (the wicked century, as posterity will call it) could make a fortune out of cotton spinning only on condition that he was allowed to use up nine generations of men mercilessly in one generation, has been driven out of the trade by that pioneer of Socialism, the factory inspector. When the working day in England is reduced to eight hours by law, and the employment of a human being at less than a living wage is made a felony, the incompetents who cannot make their trade self-supporting on these humane and reasonable conditions will simply have to see their business slip from them into the hands of those who can. The sweater will have to go the way of the flogging schoolmaster, or the captain who can only maintain discipline by making his ship a floating hell. Society will keep raising the standard of popular welfare to which industrial management must be adjusted, until an employer will no more be allowed to kill people by overwork or poisonous processes than he is now to kill them by sword or gun. And at every step of the process a fringe of the most selfish and stupid employers will be disqualified and beaten off into the ranks of the employed, their customers going to swell the business of men with ability enough to succeed under the new conditions. If there be any employer who will be "ruined" by having to reduce the hours of labor of his employees from ten, twelve, fourteen, or sixteen to eight, or to raise their wages from four, twelve, or sixteen shillings a week to twenty-four or thirty, then the sooner he is "ruined" the better for the country, which is not benefited by allowing its population to be degraded for the benefit of duffers. Mr. Mallock is right in supposing that Socialism, if it wants ability, will have to pay for it, but quite wrong in supposing that the price will be eight-thirteenths of the national product.

The Highest Work also the Cheapest.

I am by no means sure that an occupation so exceedingly agreeable to the men able to do it well as the organization of industry may not at last come to be cheaper in the market than the manual labor involved by such disagreeable and dangerous tasks as sewerage, foundry work, stoking, certain kinds of mining, and so on. Clearly, if Mr. Mallock or myself had to choose between managing an iron-works for £250 a year and puddling for £500, we should

jump at the £250. In fact, it is already evident that numbers of the occupations now filled by the working classes will eventually have either to be replaced by new processes or else dropped altogether, through the impossibility of finding men or women willing to submit to them. Nobody anticipates any such difficulty with regard to the pursuits of the middle classes. Already, in many manufacturing towns, it is difficult to get even a half-witted domestic servant. The girls prefer the mill to the kitchen. But there is no difficulty in getting matrons for public institutions. How is it that Mr. Mallock, who has himself chosen a profession in which, unaided by clerks, he has to exercise ten times the ability of a stockbroker for perhaps a fifth of what the stockbroker would consider handsome remuneration, seems never to have considered the very first peculiarity of exceptional ability, namely, that unlike mere brute capacity for the drudgery of routine labor, it is exercised for its own sake, and makes its possessor the most miserable of men if it is condemned to inaction? Why, bless my heart, how did Fabian Essays, which Mr. Mallock admires so much, come to be written? Solely because the writers were able to write them, and, having the usual allowance of vanity, would not hide that ability under a bushel, though they knew beforehand that not one of them would ever touch a farthing of any pecuniary profit that might arise from the publication. If an ordinance were issued to-morrow that every man, from the highest to the lowest, should have exactly equal pay, then I could quite understand difficulties arising from every man insisting on being head of his department. Why Mr. Mallock should anticipate rather that all the heads would insist on becoming subordinates is more than I can reconcile with the intelligence for which he is famous. As a matter of fact there would be no novelty about the arrangement. Equal pay for persons of the most varied attainments exists at present within class limits. As to chiefs receiving less than subordinates, a naval captain's salary is smaller than that of many men in subordinate and relatively undignified commercial positions.

The Economics of Fine Art.

I might go on to make many amusing conjectures about the prodigious fortunes which great artists will perhaps make under Social-Democracy by simply putting a turnstile at the door of their studio or music-room, and charging five shillings a head for admission, which would presumably be freely paid by the cultured and prosperous millions of that period. But the economics of Art deserve an essay all to themselves. The difference between the baker, who produces something that is destroyed by the first consumer, and the artist, who produces something that is none the worse after generations of consumers have had their fill of it, is full of matter for the economist. And yet none of our professors have thought of writing a chapter on the Royal Academy turnstiles, which coin shillings in defiance of all the normal laws of production and consumption.

Profits and Earnings versus Rent and Interest.

Mr. Mallock has never got away from that unfortunate economic discovery of his about the hundreds of millions annually paid as rent and dividends being created by the ability of the recipients. During his lifetime he has seen several thousand millions of it produced by labor and ability, and then handed over gratuitously to "the man who has only to take a pair of scissors and to clip coupons, or to write a receipt for the tenant who pays him rent" (I borrow the phrase from that excellent Conservative, the late Prince Bismarck). Large shares of it pass daily under Mr. Mallock's very nose from adults to infants, from able men to imbeciles, from thrifty men to wasters, from all sorts of persons who might conceivably be producing something voluntarily and without compulsion for the community in return for what it unconditionally gives them, as Ruskin did, to ladies and gentlemen who make no pretence of producing anything. Must I again quote that well-worn passage from the late Professor Cairnes's *Some Leading Principles of Political Economy*, which formulated the conclusions of the orthodox economy on this subject, and which has never been challenged or contradicted by any economist until to-day, when Mr. Mallock dashes his head against it under the impression that it is a novel and dangerous heresy launched by a few sophistical Fabians? Here is the passage, which I quote with the more satisfaction, as nobody would tolerate such strong language from me:—

That useful function, therefore, which some profound writers fancy they discover in the abundant expenditure of the idle rich, turns out to be a sheer illusion. Political economy furnishes no such palliation of unmitigated selfishness. Not that I would breathe a word against the sacredness of contracts. But I think it important, on moral no less than on economic grounds, to insist upon this, that no public benefit of any kind arises from the existence of an idle rich class. The wealth accumulated by their ancestors and others on their behalf, where it is employed as capital, no doubt helps to sustain industry; but what they consume in luxury and idleness is not capital, and helps to sustain nothing but their own unprofitable lives. By all means they must have their rents and interest, as it is written in the bond; but let them take their proper places as drones in the hive, gorging at a feast to which they have contributed nothing.

What is the secret of the difference between the views of Cairnes and those of Mr. Mallock? Simply that Cairnes knew the difference between profits and general earnings on the one hand, and rent and interest on the other; whereas Mr. Mallock has jumped at the conclusion that because ability can produce wealth, and is rare, and men who are rich are also rare, these rich and rare ones must also be the able ones? How else can you account for them? How, indeed, if you happen to be still at the wrong side of that *pons asinorum* of political economy, the law of rent, with all its very unexpected social reactions! The Fabian essayists have done their best to convince Mr. Mallock that if the Duke of Westminster makes 500 times as much as a landlord as Mr. Mallock does as an author, it is not because the Duke is 500 times as clever as Mr. Mallock. But Mr. Mallock is modest, and will have it so; and I will worry him no further about it.

Government of the Many by the Few.

Mr. Mallock is much impressed by the fact that throughout history, from the shepherd kings to the nitrate kings and beef barons, we find the few governing the many. If by this he means that the few have ever been able to raise the many to their own level, then he is blind to the historical tragedy of greatness. But it is true that such organization as the many have been capable of has always been directed for them, and in some cases imposed on them, by the few. And I have no doubt that under Social-Democracy the few will still organize, and that, too, without having to consider at every step the vested interests of moneyed noodledom in "the system of Conservatism." Well has Mr. Mallock pointed out that the evolution of society produces, not anarchy, but new types of ruler, and, I would ask him to add, new forms of government. Once it was the first William with his sword and his barons. Then it was the first Edward, with his commission of *quo warranto*, bending the necks of those barons. But yesterday it was the cotton king with his capital and his ogreish factory: to-day it is the Factory Code bending the necks of the ogre cotton kings. To-morrow it may be—who knows?—an able Labor Ministry, backed up by a bureaucracy nursed on Fabian Essays. But Mr. Mallock's historic generalization will hold good: the few will still organize the many. That great joint-stock company of the future, the Social-Democratic State, will have its chairman and directors as surely as its ships will have captains. I have already pointed out that ships must have captains, even when there is an absolute level of ability on board, just as an arch must have a keystone. I cast back to that now only for the sake of reminding Mr. Mallock that this fact of the direction by the few of the many which he finds involved in all forms of social organization, has no necessary connection with any natural superiority on the part of the few. Indeed, Mr. Mallock will find it impossible to prove that the governing few have ever, in any generally valid sense, been the ablest men of their time. James I. governed Shakespeare: was he an abler man? Louis XV. and his mistresses governed Turgot: was it by their superiority in ability or character? Was Mr. Balfour an abler man than Mr. Asquith until the last general election? and has Mr. Asquith been the abler since? Have all the men who have governed Mr. Mallock been abler than he is?

These questions are nonsensical because, as Mr. Mallock himself has remarked, ability is not an abstract thing: it always means ability for some definite feat or function. ~~There is no such thing as the ablest man in England, though there is such a thing as the ablest high jumper, the ablest hammer thrower, the ablest weight lifter, etc.~~ When we come to more composite questions, such as the ablest financier, or strategist, or organizer of some particular industry, we call that man the ablest who has most of the qualities which happen to be supremely important, *under existing conditions*, in finance, strategy, or the particular industry in question. Change the conditions, and quite another set of men will be the ablest. Every year

↳ the 'able' or 'wealthy' depend
upon better environment

gives us a fresh example of the fact that a man who has succeeded conspicuously in some enterprise in America may fail ignominiously in it in England, the reason being that he is an able man for the purpose under American conditions, and an incompetent one under English conditions. The Owenite Socialists who had made fortunes in business, failed to make good their reputation even for common sense in their attempts to organize Owenism. Or, to take one of Mr. Mallock's own illustrations, the able man of feudal England was quite a different man from the able man of commercial England. At least, let us hope so. As to Mr. Mallock's exceedingly unhistoric apprehensions that the said able men will refuse to exercise their ability for good pay and pension from Social-Democracy, unless they are also provided with opportunities of investing their savings in order to make idlers of their children, I doubt whether the public will take the alarm. He may depend on it that Social-Democracy, like all other Ocracies, will have a great deal more trouble with its idle and worthless members than with its able ones.

In certain under Socialism
 The Incentive to Production.

"Men," says Mr. Mallock, "will not exert themselves to produce income when they know that the State is an organized conspiracy to rob them of it." My impression hitherto has been that the whole history of civilization is the history of millions of men toiling to produce wealth for the express purpose of paying the tax-collector and meeting the State-enforced demands of landlords, capitalists, and other masters of the sources of production. Mr. Mallock might as well deny the existence of the Pyramids on the general ground that men will not build pyramids when they know that Pharaoh is at the head of an organized conspiracy to take away the Pyramids from them as soon as they are made. Are not those very rents and dividends over which Mr. Mallock has so ingeniously gone astray, produced to-day by workers of all grades, who are compelled by the State to hand over every farthing of it to "drones," as Professor Cairnes called them? But the Attorney-General does not retire from the Bar because he has to hand over part of his fees to the lord of the plot of English soil on which his private house is built; nor did the factory girl refuse to toil, amid poisonous fumes of whitelead and phosphorus, because from ten to thirty per cent. of what she and the rest of the factory staff produced was taken from them and handed over to shareholders who never saw the factory, and whose original contributions to the cost of its erection had been replaced out of its own produce long before. When the State said, to Attorney-General and factory girl alike, "Submit, starve, or go to prison; which you please," they submitted, that being the most comfortable of the three alternatives. A Social-Democratic State could "rob" (the word is Mr. Mallock's, not mine) in the same fashion if its constituents, against their own interests, gave it a mandate to do so. If "the idle rich" (Professor Cairnes again) were taxed so heavily as to leave them nothing but bare agents' fees for the collection of their incomes and their transfer to the Inland Revenue Department, there is no

reason to suppose that the production of income would be decreased by a single farthing through any sulking of the despoiled spoilers. If a man is producing nothing, nobody can be the worse for a reduction of his incentive to produce. The real difficulty in the way of taxing unearned incomes to extinction, is the impossibility of a seizure of £800,000,000 every year by a Government which, as at present organized, has no means of immediately restoring that sum to general circulation in wages and salaries to employees of its own. This difficulty has been explicitly dealt with in Fabian Essays (page 189, etc.), in a passage which Mr. Mallock's criticisms do not affect.

The Long and Short of the Matter.

The long and short of the matter is that Mr. Mallock has confused the proprietary classes with the productive classes, the holders of ability with the holders of land and capital, the man about town with the man of affairs. In 1894 I advised him to take up the works of the Individualist American economist, General F. A. Walker, who, before the Fabian Society was born, expounded the economics of ability in a manner to which neither Fabians nor Conservatives have raised, or need raise, any objection. He did not take my advice until he went to America and was accused of borrowing from the General by somebody who must surely have understood neither of the twain. But now that he has read him, he can appreciate the following passage from the same author's *Money in its Relation to Trades and Industry* (London, 1880, pp. 90-91):—

The attitude of both laborers and capitalists [during a period of five years industrial depression in the United States] has given the strongest testimony that the employing classes are completely the masters of the industrial situation. To them capital and labor are obliged alike to resort for the opportunity to perform their several functions; and whenever this class, in view of their own interests, refuse that opportunity, capital and labor remain unemployed, incapable of the slightest initiative in production.

There you have your skilled economist. He does not romance about capitalists inventing Atlantic steamers: he shews you the capitalist and the laborer running helplessly, the one with his money, the other with his muscle, to the able man, the actual organizer and employer, who alone is able to find a use for mere manual deftness, or for that brute strength or heavy bank balance which any fool may possess. And the landlord must put his acres into the same cunning hands. The landlord, capitalist, and laborer can none of them do without the employer: neither can he do without land, capital, and labor. He, as the only party in the transaction capable "of the slightest initiative in production," buys his three indispensables as cheaply as he can; pays the price out of what he makes out of them; and keeps the balance as his profit. If a joint-stock company offers him as much by way of salary as managing director as he can make on his own account, he has no interest in refusing the post. If the Government, or a municipality, offers him equivalent advantages as a State or municipal officer, he will not scorn their offer from a sentimental attachment to "the

system of Conservatism." The Fabians have shewn that the situation is changing in such a way as to set our governing bodies, local and central, outbidding the private employer for the services of the laborer, and competing with the private capitalist and landlord for the services of the employer, whilst concurrently confiscating, by familiar constitutional processes, larger and larger portions of the land and capital that has fallen into idle hands. Mr. Mallock, in reply, bids the Conservatives be of good cheer, since he can prove that nearly all wealth is the product of ability and not of labor—no great consolation to those Conservatives who deal in neither, but only in land and capital. And to set at rest any lingering misgivings which his economic demonstrations may have left, he adds that the gobbling up of proprietary incomes by Social-Democracy, on Fabian lines, is not "fundamental Socialism," but only "incidental and supplementary Socialism," which, rightly considered, are "really examples and results of a developing Individualism." This explanation has been of great comfort to the Fabians. Whether it will be equally relished by the Conservatives is a question upon which I am too modest to offer an opinion.

NOTE.—The authorities for the figures given on pages 14 and 22, with many other particulars as to the distribution of income in this country which should be in the hands of every citizen, will be found in Fabian Tract No. 5, Facts for Socialists. Fabian Tract No. 7, Capital and Land, should also be read in this connexion.

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CAPITAL AND COMPENSATION.

SOCIALISM as a modern political force was born of a book, and that book was called "Das Capital" because its author rightly conceived that Socialism is far more closely concerned with capital than with anything else.

The reorganization of society on Socialist lines is necessary because capital has reduced the majority of the people to workers dependent on others for their livelihood, and the chief demand of Socialism is that the powers now exercised by the owners of capital over the lives and liberties of others should be transferred to the community.

Socialism and Capital.

Socialists have opinions on all sorts of subjects, and sometimes sections of them make those opinions parts of their creeds. Socialist societies have taken upon themselves to formulate dogmas on war and peace, religion and materialism, monarchy and republicanism, marriage and the family, the citizenship of women, and the education of children. But on many of these subjects there is hardly more agreement amongst Socialists than there is among Liberals or Tories, or Nonconformists, or any other group of people. On one matter alone are all Socialists all the world over in complete accord, and that subject is what ought to be done with capital.

The chief purpose of all Socialists is to transfer the capital of each nation from the hands of private owners to the community organized as the State.

What "Capital" means.

But what is this capital which we desire to transfer to the community? How many of the Socialists who so often talk about it have a clear idea of what it means?

Unfortunately, the word capital has an endless variety of necessary and yet incompatible meanings, all good and useful and appropriate to particular purposes, but so numerous and contradictory that the wise man will never use the word capital without explaining at the same time exactly what he intends to denote or connote by it.

Here we are concerned with the capital which Socialists desire to nationalize, the capital which yields interest and profits, and enables its possessors, if they choose, to earn salaries out of proportion to the value of the work they do. It is unnecessary, therefore, to consider

whether the skill of a doctor or of a professional billiard player is or is not capital, because clearly it cannot be nationalized by an Act of Parliament. Nor need we discuss the capital value of the English climate, which some economists rate highly, nor of our natural harbors and navigable rivers, nor of the alleged moral and industrial superiority of our race, to which some writers, English and not foreign, attach much value.

Nor need we consider the claims of goodwill to rank as capital, since the goodwill, say, of a soapmaking company, consists for the most part in the advantages, acquired as a rule by lavish expenditure in advertisements, which one concern possesses over other makers of soap; and its existence is bound up in the continuance of a number of competing manufacturers. Under a complete monopoly, whether of a trust or of the State, goodwill ceases to exist.

Capital is Things.

Capital for our present purpose is all sorts of *things* in a certain aspect. Things have different aspects for different people or the same people in different moods. A steamer to the artist may be a color contrast on the horizon; to the engineer it is a means of livelihood; to the passenger a conveyance; to the investor it is so much capital. But although capital is all sorts of things in a certain aspect, its characteristics are chiefly determined by one sort of thing, and that is machinery.

This is a proposition to which Socialists should give ready assent. The capitalist system is recognized by them as an equivalent phrase to the régime of machine industry. The industrial revolution, the growth of the factory system, are their constant subjects of study. Machinery is not only the typical form of capital, but it is that which determines its chief characteristics. Subsistence, the food of the laborer, may be the seed; abstinence on the part of the owner may be a prerequisite; but the thing itself is neither abstinence nor food, but machinery.

Now the first thing to remember is that an aspect of a thing or a quality of a thing cannot exist apart from the thing itself. For instance, weight is a quality of things, and everybody at once realizes that if you want weight as ballast for your boat or your balloon, you have to get *things* that are heavy.

What is true of weight is equally true of capital. All capital, at any rate all that Socialists are concerned with, is *things* that are valuable.

Perhaps this statement may appear obvious and commonplace. Nobody supposed that capital was anything else. But is this so? Does everybody realize that when the London Joint Stock Bank takes up a block of £1,000,000 London County Council Stock, that transaction, represented by a few entries in a ledger, is in fact the transfer from the Directors of the Bank to the London County Council, not of so much gold, or of so much of an abstraction called capital, or of a still more elusive abstraction called credit, but of a claim upon a weirdly miscellaneous assortment of all sorts and kinds

of things—lands and houses, goods in warehouses and on the high seas, locomotives in Australia and elephants in India, in all of which the County Council proceeds to exercise certain possessory rights?

The Parable of a Plough.

Let me explain by a parable. Once upon a time in the Mid-Victorian Age there lived a farmer whom I will call A, an exceptional farmer because he was prosperous and kept accounts, who possessed a steam plough as good as new, which had cost him £100 and was worth to him, as he discovered from his accounts, £20 a year in increased yield from his land after providing for all repairs and expenses. He was so prosperous that he decided to retire, and rather than let his plough lie idle, he lent it to Farmer B for a payment of £10 a year. Farmer B also found that he got £20 a year profit out of the plough, and so he was £10 to the good by the transaction. Next year B thought he could do better still by buying the plough. A was willing to sell. So B borrowed £100 from the Banker C on the security of the plough at five per cent. per annum, bought the plough of A, and paid for it by a cheque on the Banker C. A paid the cheque also into the bank of C, and put it on deposit at three per cent.

Now this simple transaction in fact contains in a nutshell the essence of all finance.

In the first year there was one man owning a plough which yielded £20 of profit, a machine, that is, which produced so much wealth, all going to the owner, A.

In the second year two men were concerned, A, the owner, who still owned the plough, and got £10 a year for lending it to B. B had the use of the plough and netted £10 a year clear profit. Still there was only one plough, yielding one profit of £20.

In the third year things were still more complicated. A had £100 on deposit at the bank, and was drawing £3 a year interest. B had a steam plough, yielding £20 a year, out of which he paid £5 as interest to the Banker C. C, the Banker, had an increase of his deposits of £100 on one side, and on the other a new loan of £100 secured on the plough. He received £5 from the borrower and paid £3 to the lender, so that he had £2 clear profit on the operation. All these men felt rich and prosperous: all were making interest or profits; all could talk of their capital and their loans; and yet all the time there was but one steam plough, yielding as before a profit of £20.

What is true of this steam plough is true of all financial and commercial transactions. In the last analysis loans and bank deposits, stocks and shares, cheques and bills, mortgages and debentures, all are founded on things—real, tangible things like ploughs. Their capital value depends on the value of these things, and the interest that they yield is produced by the things they represent, or, in other words, is due to the fact that the man with a machine, of whatever sort, can produce more wealth than the man without the machine.

Capital : Land : Wealth.

Capital, then, is things and nothing else whatsoever : of course it includes land. For the purposes of this argument no distinction between land and capital is possible. The wealth or the capital of the country (and there is no clear distinction between the form of wealth usually called capital and any other forms of wealth) consists in houses and lands, in machinery and goods, in stone and iron and coal, in cattle and corn and cotton ; in gold and a little silver and bronze, all tangible things, and in nothing else at all. This is the capital with which finance is concerned ; and this is the capital which we Socialists desire to nationalize.

It is perhaps difficult to realize that the 50 millions of deposits in some London bank, apparently a series of figures in ledgers, all expressed in terms of money, and convertible at longer or shorter notice into gold sovereigns, are in reality not money, or some abstraction called capital, but nothing else than such things as ploughs and the land they plough.

One great reason for this confusion of thought, this idea that capital is something apart from tangible things, is the fact that there is in commercial and general language another and quite different significance of the word capital.

The Capital of a Company.

The capital of a company is not things, and bears no necessary relation to things. When a mining company is started, a number of people who have capital, that is things, contribute (or lend) their things, say fifty each lending £1,000 worth of things to the promoters ; and they are allotted shares in the mine in proportion to their contributions. But the promoters allot to themselves for their services, real or imaginary, for their concession, for the mine, and so on, such other shares as they think fit, say another £50,000.

The whole "capital" of the mine then stands at £100,000, and this means that the ownership of the mine and the profits, if any, are divided amongst the shareholders in proportion to their holding of the "capital." Every holder of £1 in shares is to get one one-hundred-thousandth of the profits.

This capital therefore does *not* represent things. And of course the commercial world instantly recognizes this. Once the mine is started the value for buying and selling bears no relation to the capital. The £1 share may sell at £30 or at 6d. Its market price depends on the actual earnings and the valuation attached to the right to these earnings ; it depends, that is, on the things which the company possesses.

The value of these things is not in any way affected by the capitalization of the mine. If its net earnings are £10,000, it will pay ten per cent. on a capital of £100,000 or twenty per cent. on a capital of £50,000 or one hundred per cent. on a capital of £10,000.

Railway Stocks.

It is particularly important for Socialists to realize that the "capital" of such concerns as railways is now nothing else than a means for determining how the profits and control of the company shall be divided. A £100 North Eastern Railway Stock is not so called because the original subscriber paid £100 into the company. The capital of a company was often issued at a discount; that is, £100 of stock was given by the company for £70 or £80 or £90 in cash. On the other hand it is sometimes issued at a premium. The North Eastern Railway some years ago sold to the public a quantity of stock at £150 for each nominal £100 of "North Eastern Consols" issued. It does not mean that that part of the property of the railway is now worth £100. Only by a rare and mere chance is £100 railway stock bought or sold for £100. It may be worth anything from £10 to £200.

The capital of a company can be written down or watered up, just as the owners please, and it makes no direct difference to anybody else.

It is not necessary to discuss here various other sorts of company capital, guaranteed, preference and debenture, and so on. Such stocks represent other claims in addition to shares in the property. But these are details not affecting the main argument, which is that the share capital of a company is altogether a different sort of capital from the capital which is the main theme of this paper.

Consols and Municipal Stocks.

There is another sort of capital of which a few words must be said. What relation, it may be asked, have Consols, or Turkish Bonds, or London County Stock to things? The relation is this. The loan of a State or municipality consists originally of things—currency representing things—lent by private citizens to the State. In exchange they receive a charge on the property of the State, which is, for this purpose, the property of all the citizens. In fact, an owner of private property only holds it subject to any claims of the State against it. This is a truth of which passive resisters, whether Free Churchmen or Tax-refusing Suffragettes, are made acutely conscious. The State, central or local, has a claim on, that is in fact owns, a part of the possessions of each citizen. It demands its rates and its income-tax. If the citizen pays its demand, all is well. If he neglects or refuses to pay, the State promptly seizes his silver spoons or any other property it can lay hands on, and sells them at auction. Consols or London County Council Stock represents those things which private persons hold, subject to the claim of the State. The owner of land has to pay one part of its produce to the local authority and another part as land and income taxes to the revenue; and if, on the average, landlords pay twenty-five per cent. of the value of their land to the State, we may properly say that the State owns a quarter share of the land, and that it has transferred this ownership to the holders of Consols and municipal

loans, who are the real recipients of the income-tax and the rates. It is the case of the plough over again. As A, in reality, had not £100, but a plough valued at £100 in his bank, so the holder of Consols possesses in reality the essence, as it were, of the land and the many other things on which his right is secured, and out of the profits of which his interest is paid.

Interest on Capital.

What is true of capital is equally true of interest and profit on capital. That also consists of the things which capital—machinery—adds to the product of labor. The steam plough in the parable, by enabling the soil to be cultivated more thoroughly, produced more grains of wheat, heavier turnips, a greater growth of clover. The value to the farmer of this extra product, after all extra expenses had been met, was £20. The interest, then, even that ultimately paid through the bank to the depositor, was in essence wheat and turnips and clover. The depositor could draw interest because the plough produced larger crops.

All commercial interest is of this character, and all capital can command interest because some capital can always produce things which without it would not exist at all.

It is a common idea amongst some Socialists that there is something rather wicked in interest. Indeed they often say that interest under Socialism would be forbidden. Sometimes they seem to fancy that interest is the same as repayment of capital, and argue that payment of five per cent. for twenty years should be held to pay off the loan. Again, our Anglican brethren quote with much gusto the strong language which the Fathers of the Church used about a very different matter—*usury*, that is, the taking of interest for the loan, not of capital, but of means of subsistence. The Shylocks of old and the modern money lender are quite proper subjects of denunciation by bishops and judges and other superior persons. But that sort of borrowing and lending of money, the pandering to the vices of the dissolute, or the battenning on the necessities of the unfortunate, is a quite different thing from the loan transactions of Lombard Street and the great commercial system of borrowing and lending for the purposes of business.

Interest as the yield of industrial capital is an ultimate fact. The man with the plough can raise more wheat than the man with the spade. The woman with a sewing machine can make more shirts than the woman who sews by hand. So long as more machinery is required, until the world has all the machines that anybody wants, the man or the department with a machine will be more efficient than the man or the department without it; and that efficiency, that larger product, is interest. Interest is no more anti-social than rent, and is practically as eternal. What Socialists properly denounce is the *private ownership* of capital and of the interest it yields, just as they denounce the private ownership of land and of the rent that accrues from it.

Capital isolated from Things.

I have said that capital is things and nothing else than things, and that it cannot be separated from things. That is a proposition, like so many in economics, which you have first to get thoroughly into your head and then to get out again.

It is true that Farmer A's £100 deposit in the bank was entirely dependent on the plough. In fact, it was the plough. Obviously there was nothing else but some orders written on paper.

But, none the less, those orders altogether changed the situation. In fact, A possessed not a claim on that particular plough, but equally on countless other things, all temporarily pledged to the bank. Moreover the transaction had, so to speak, extracted and isolated the capital out of the plough, so that A owned the qualities of the plough which are capital, and B owned and administered all the rest.

The whole secret of the financial system of the present day is this divorce between ownership and administration of capital. The banks are great pawnshops, where one set of people deposit as pledges cargoes of cotton and wool and wheat, lands and houses, ships and factories, the profits of which go in part to those who administer them, in part to the banker for his services and risks, and the rest to the depositors in the bank, who in the last resort have a right to them.

Everywhere this system prevails in name or in fact. Nominally the shareholders in a railway or a great joint stock "industrial" control their company through their elected board of directors. In fact, they do nothing at all but cash their dividend warrants.

In the case of bank deposits, municipal and Government loans, mortgages on land and houses, and many other things, the owner of the capital has no control whatever over the use which is made of it. He finds the money, but he does *not* call the tune. All he can claim is his pound of flesh, his half-yearly interest warrant.

Control divided from Ownership.

The importance of this distinction between the administration of capital and the ownership of capital has not, I think, been adequately recognized.

In the gradual transfer of capital from individual to communal ownership and control, it plays a principal part, because the ownership and the control of capital are transferred at different times and by different methods.

When, as recently happened in London, a waterworks company is taken over by the community, and water stock is given to the shareholders in exchange for their shares, the administration of industrial capital is transferred to the community, but the ownership may fairly be said to remain in private hands. London in 1908 was not only no richer, but even poorer than before the change was made. All the profits of the waterworks were needed to pay the interest on the water stock.

The position is exactly that described in the third year of the parable. London has the use of the water plant as Farmer B had the use of the plough, but London has to pay the real owner, the old shareholders, just as Farmer A still drew his share of the profits of the plough after he had sold it to B.

Transfer in Two Stages.

In practice, the transfer of capital to the community is always taken in two stages. At the first stage the State takes over the administration, as of gasworks, tramways, telephones, waterworks, and so on; and at this stage the State always compensates the dispossessed owner by giving him a charge on the profits of the thing transferred or, what is equivalent, by giving him cash.

In these cases compensation is always given because it accords with the sense of justice of the community to pay it; in other words, both parties to the transaction expect this course and are satisfied to take it. The city or community gets its waterworks and the shareholders get, what in reality is all they cared for before, an annual payment of interest and a saleable "stock," that is, saleable documents giving the right to receive this annual interest and an ultimate right to a lump sum.

We "compensate" then when we take over the administration of capital by dividing it into two parts; the State takes the control of the actual things, and leaves to the original owners their wealth producing qualities, that is, their capital value.

But how about the next stage?

We can give water stock in exchange for the plant of water companies, but when we want to take the water stock, what exchange *can* we give? To buy it is of no avail. The purchase by the State of £100 of stock at the market price does not affect the distribution of property. The private owner formerly possessed one sort of capital and later possessed another sort; but the amount he possesses is not altered. Capital in the form of stocks or Consols or cash is interchangeable because it is sublimated and refined till it may be said to be absolutely pure. It has no specific powers; it involves no duties; it requires no abilities. It is simply and purely the right to levy a tax on the labor of the community. It may be beneficial to that community if it is expended in scientific research or the endowment of education, or in the proper support of the old and the sick. But usually it is the means of livelihood of the idle rich.

This distinction* between ownership and administration of capital is the key to the compensation difficulty. It is found convenient to compensate when the administration of capital is transferred; but when the turn comes for the ownership also to be transferred, it will prove not only inconvenient, but impossible, to compensate, except on some such lines as a "time limit," which is not really compensation, but confiscation with notice.

* It is expressed in French by the contrast between "l'usufruct" and "la nue propriété."

Analysis of Ownership.

Ownership of capital, therefore, is by no means so simple a matter as is often supposed. It may be classified into four categories:—

The first is complete and undivided ownership. Such was Robinson Crusoe's ownership of his hut and his canoe, and even of his man Friday. No law or State Government controlled his power to do what he liked with his own: no landlord or mortgagee, no debenture holder or shareholder or stockholder had any claim on his wealth.

Outside fiction, the British factory owner a century ago, the Southern States factory owner of to-day, and, in practice, it is said, the American millionaire trust owner, is nearly in that position. These men can or could use their capital to achieve their ends as they think fit, and no power on earth or elsewhere holds them in check.

The second form of ownership is when a capitalist may only do with his own as far as the community thinks fit. The owner of a cotton factory in Lancashire or in Germany is subject to a quite stupendous code of laws, which tell him what he may do and what he may not do with his capital. One set of rules lays down how he shall build his factory; another set provides for the sort of machinery he must put in. The hour of opening and of closing is fixed by law, the place where he must pay his hands, and the form in which he is to pay them. Other laws regulate whom he may employ, and how many hours a week he may work children, young persons, and women. A quite other set of regulations is imposed on him by his employers' association and the trade union.

The second pair of categories which divide ownership of capital on a different plane has already been described. Farmer A at first owned his plough right out. All its profits went into his pocket. Except for the claims of the community for taxes, etc., he was full owner. At a later stage Farmer B also owned the plough, but it was charged with a loan from the bank, and part of the profits ultimately came to Farmer A as before. The possession was, in fact, divided; A owned, B administered.

The Politics of Capital.

The task of Socialism in relation to capital is therefore threefold.

It has to meet and overthrow the ideal of *laissez faire*, that of the capitalist who can do what he likes with his own. It clips and curtails his power to harm by Factory Acts, Sanitary Acts, Truck Acts, Minimum Wage Acts, Eight Hour Acts, and every other device that can be discovered for restraining his vicious propensities. It encourages trade unions, which regulate what the law cannot yet touch, and co-operative societies, which oust him from his most profitable preserves.

The next step is to seize on the administration of his property. It takes his gasworks and his waterworks, his trams and his tele-

phones and his railways. It no longer allows him to manage them even under the strictest of regulations, but transfers them to itself and pays him a fixed share of the profits as compensation for his property.

But it must here be noted that the share of the profits of capital, usually called *interest* in the narrower sense, which goes to "pure" capital is a small one. In the plough parable the yield of the plough was put at twenty per cent., and the interest received by A when he deposited his plough at the bank was only three per cent. The return on capital embarked in industry is very various, and the risk of its loss has always to be allowed for. But, as a rule, the trader earns between five per cent. and fifty per cent. on his enterprise; and if he uses capital lent to him, through a bank for example, the ultimate owner of the capital only receives three or four per cent.

The transfer to the community of the administration of industrial capital therefore involves the transfer of the administrator's share of the profits, and this is a large one. The gas and waterworks of our provincial towns, the electric lighting works and the tramways of London, yield very large profits indeed over and above the interest paid to the private persons who hold the municipal stock.

The transfer of the administration of industrial capital to the community is a comparatively simple process. It is going on around us every day. Parliament when it grants franchises for any local monopoly carefully provides nowadays, as French law has long provided with regard to the railways, that it may take place in due time.

We want to speed up the machinery, of course. We want to take over the railways next year and the mines the year after, and then the cotton factories; and we know that it will not be done at that rate. Still it is quite simple, if we steadily bear in mind that this step in the process is, and must be, separate from the step of transferring the ownership; and there is every possible disadvantage in confusing the two.

The last step is the transfer of ownership of capital from private persons to the State, and this the community has hardly yet begun. It has made some attempt to pay off its national debt, which may be regarded as a mortgage, in the first instance, on its industrial capital, such as the Post Office. Local authorities which borrow in order to purchase gasworks and trams, or to build houses or buy small holdings, are required to save out of their rates or their profits in order to repay the loan, that is, to buy out the real owners. Josiah Wedgwood, M.P., has made the useful suggestion that local loans should be arranged for short rather than for long terms of years, because the shorter the term the quicker the public authority is compelled to accumulate capital. But all this is the saving of new capital and not the transfer from private holders of existing capital.

If, however, the State constantly accumulates new capital and private persons gradually cease to do so, the share of the capital of the nation in private ownership will gradually decrease.

Quantity versus Quality of Capital.

But there is another consideration. It is commonly believed that the moral validity of the right of private ownership in capital varies according to the quality or kind of that capital. It is thought, for instance, that the moral right to ungoten minerals or mining royalties is highly disputable, since it is obvious that the owner took no part whatever in creating them. The case against private ownership of uncultivated land is scarcely less strong, and all land values are held by many people to belong properly to the State. But against this contention it is argued that all these rights have been bought and sold freely for generations, and since Consols, state obligations whose validity is generally held to be beyond dispute, can be sold and the proceeds invested in mining royalties, it is unfair to penalize the owner of one class of property at a given moment as compared with the owner of another class. In effect the State has guaranteed all classes of ownership equally, and it must not turn round and declare its sanction in one case less valid than in another.

On the other hand, we may have regard to the quantity of property in individual ownership. It has always been held that the rich should contribute more to the State than the poor. Excessive wealth is universally regarded as a public danger. By common consent the objectionable feature of modern civilization, as of that of ancient Rome, is the possession of great wealth by a few, with the accompanying poverty of the masses.

In this connection the kind or quality of the wealth is irrelevant. If some regard the great landlord with special disapproval, others concentrate their hostility on the Stock Exchange financier, and a third set reserve their censure for the trust magnate. This much, therefore, seems clear, that in the measures taken to transfer capital from private to public ownership, regard must be had in the main, not to the quality, but to the quantity, of the property owned by each person. We shall deal with the rich owner as opposed to the poor owner, and not with mining royalties or land values as opposed to steel trust stocks or steamship shares.

Capitalists as Bondholders.

There is another reason for this. We have already explained that whenever the community takes over any particular things—gasworks, tramways, railways—it compensates by giving stocks or borrowing the necessary money on stocks, and thus reduces ownership to a common denominator of annuities payable by the State. As this process goes on, the private owner of capital will become more and more a receiver of a fixed income from the State. The privately owned capital of the future will be gradually reduced to its simplest terms, the payment to individuals by the State of the income, or a part of it, from the property they or their predecessors formerly held, which has been taken over in exchange for water stock, or gas stock, or Consols.

All we shall then be able to consider is the quantity of State obligations held by an individual. Any differentiation between one

class of State guaranteed stock and another, any historical enquiry whether it was given in exchange for mining royalties or for inventions and patent rights, will be impossible.

Capital in Consols.

Consols are properly called Two and a half per cent. Annuities. In reality each £100 consists of the right to receive £2 10s. per annum, with the right *to the State* to redeem that payment by a lump sum of £100. Some stocks give rights to the holders to claim repayment after a term of years, but this right only has value when the market price of the security is below par. When it is above par, the right is useless; and if the company or corporation has the reciprocal right to pay off at par, it becomes a disadvantage. Moreover, public authorities nearly always extinguish their obligations by purchase, if the price is below par. We may therefore disregard the nominal capital amount of State obligations. Their only important feature is the annual payments. The nationalization of the ownership of capital will therefore gradually take the form of the extinction of annual payments made by the State to individuals, and it is easy to see that this will take place in two ways.

Income Tax and Death Duties.

Any deduction made by the State from these annuities is pro tanto an extinguishment of them. A two shilling income tax is a reduction of the State debt by ten per cent. Already the State has begun to differentiate against unearned incomes, and this process will no doubt continue.

The idle rich, the recipients of income which comes to them by inheritance or gift, pensioners of the community on account of ancestral rights to capital acquired under an ancient and abandoned system, will be regarded by our enlightened successors as obvious subjects for the heaviest taxation.

Secondly, there are the death duties. Already the State takes no inconsiderable share of property left at death. The time is not far distant when the right of inheritance will be still more narrowly limited. Before long the principle of the death duty and the super tax will be largely extended.

One millionaire has already enunciated the doctrine that no man should die rich. A simple deduction from this is that no man should live rich, and the habit of regarding millionaires as social pests is rapidly growing. Legislation deliberately directed to penalizing the wealthy in the interests of the community already commends itself to the community. The "vindictive" Budget of 1909 appears to be a popular measure.

Moreover, the right of inheritance and bequest should be closely limited. At present the State only puts in a claim when it has exhausted every effort to discover the remotest cousin of a dead property owner who has been too lazy to dispose of his own fortune. The press and the lady's maid novelists would no doubt deplore a world state in which rich uncles dying in Australia or remote,

cousins slain in railway accidents were no longer possible rescuers of the poor but well-born hero, eager to wed the lovely daughter of the haughty earl. But such Ollendorfian occurrences will not be wanted to add zest to a world busy with the thrilling task of social reconstruction on a large scale. The State might well enact in a future not excessively remote that it should be the sole heir of all who die without children.

A third method, already adopted in the case of Indian railways, is to give terminable, or perhaps life, annuities in place of the perpetual annuities which we usually call stock or bonds.

Summary.

The argument is now concluded. It has been shown that the capital which we have to nationalize is exclusively tangible things, but that our financial system, the great structure of credit which economists describe with reverent wonder, consists of isolating the value of these things, so that the ownership can be separated from the control.

We have next seen that the State nationalizes capital in two stages. It first takes over the administration and control, and compensates the private owners by leaving to them the value of the capital in the new form of annual payments of interest. The second step is to transfer the ownership itself. In this distinction we have found the explanation of the confusion on the subject of compensation in the minds of Socialists, who maintain that compensation is both unjust and impossible, although they acquiesce in and sometimes advocate it in any particular instance of the taking over of the administration of actual things.

Compensation, we have shown, is both possible and proper when the State takes over the administration of capital. It is impossible when the ownership (in the sense just explained) is taken over, and therefore it is unnecessary to consider whether it is just or politic.

Finally, we have discussed the methods by which the ownership of capital will be transferred to the State, and have taken the view that no distinction can be drawn between various classes, or kinds, or sorts, or qualities of capital. All we should do is to differentiate between owners of much and owners of little; in other words, between the relatively rich and the relatively poor.

With the wide expansion of social reconstruction which must accompany this transfer of capital to the State we have here no concern. Nor is there space to deal with the new organization of industry which must follow it.

The purpose of this paper has been to indicate the nature of the capital which Socialists desire to socialize and the methods by which it is being and will be emancipated from private ownership and control and transferred to the community for the use and benefit of the whole people.

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WHAT A HEALTH COMMITTEE CAN DO.

“With all deductions the triumphs of sanitary reform, as well as of medical science, are perhaps the brightest page in the history of our century.”—W. E. H. LECKY.

MEMBERSHIP of a Health Committee opens up opportunities for social work of the highest importance. The duty of a Health Committee is a very extensive one. It is to prevent all preventable sickness in their district, from whatever cause, and to see that no sickness goes neglected, whatever its nature. Public health administration in the past has done wonderful things in the way of preventing disease and prolonging life. Typhus fever and relapsing fever, which were formerly scourges of the poor, have been swept out of the country; the mortality from typhoid fever, scarlet fever and tuberculosis has been greatly diminished, and the general death-rate has fallen from 21·8 in 1848 to 14·7 in 1908.

Amongst the many influences which have been at work to bring about these results public health administration has certainly been the most important. But although much has already been accomplished, much remains to be done, and the object of this tract is to show in what directions further progress can and ought to be made.*

A Whole-time Officer of Health.

The Medical Officer of Health is the chief of the Public Health Department, and much depends on what sort of man he is and how he is supported by the Health Committee. It is most important that he should devote the whole of his time to public health work. All areas of not less than 50,000 population should have a whole-time Medical Officer of Health, and in many districts with less population, especially industrial towns with a large number of workshops, and scattered districts covering a wide area, a whole-time Medical Officer of Health is necessary. Private practice greatly interferes with his public duties. If he is a capable, energetic and popular man—and a Medical Officer of Health should be all this—he will gain a large private practice and can find little time for his public health duties. Moreover, you cannot reasonably expect a Medical Officer of Health to expose the insanitary cottages or slum dwellings owned by his own clients. Smaller districts should combine together to appoint a whole-time officer, which can be done under the Public Health Act, 1875 (Sec. 191). Towns over 50,000 need one or more Assistant Medical Officers. It is essential that every

* This tract applies more particularly to England and Wales, outside the County of London. In London the Public Health powers are divided between the L.C.C., the Metropolitan Borough Councils, and the Metropolitan Asylums Board.

Medical Officer of Health should be specially qualified for his work, and therefore no applicant should be considered who does not possess the Diploma of Public Health (D.P.H.).

The Health Committee should see that only

Whole-time Sanitary Inspectors

are appointed. Unfortunately, in many districts the sanitary inspector (or inspector of nuisances, as he is called outside London) is also surveyor, and may even hold other posts. This always leads to the public health work being neglected. In the Urban District of Braintree with a population of 6,000 the inspector of nuisances is also surveyor of highways, surveyor of buildings, engineer to the waterworks, engineer to the sewage works, surveyor to the cemetery, and superintendent of the scavenging. For three months this inspector was engaged in re-numbering the houses in the town, and had no time for his other duties.*

A sanitary inspector should devote the whole of his time to his duties and he should hold a proper qualification. On no account ought any candidate to be appointed merely because he is a good fellow, or a honest man, or the victim of misfortunes, or the friend of one of the Councillors. The qualification recognized by the Local Government Board is the certificate of the Sanitary Inspectors Examination Board, without which no sanitary inspector can hold office in London. The certificate of the Royal Sanitary Institute is, however, a good qualification. At least one of the sanitary inspectors of any district should hold a special certificate qualifying him in meat inspection.

How many Sanitary Inspectors are wanted ?

This depends upon the population, area, and social circumstances of the district. An industrial district covering a wide area will need more inspectors (among whom there should always be at least one woman) than a residential district of the same population with a smaller area. Furthermore, county boroughs administer the Food and Drugs Acts, which in the smaller boroughs and in urban and rural districts are under the charge of the County Council. As a general rule a district should appoint not less than one sanitary inspector to every 10,000 population, in addition to health visitors ; and if the women inspectors act also as health visitors more inspectors are required.

The most progressive towns already exceed this scale. For instance, Liverpool employs 43 male sanitary inspectors and 21 female, besides a milk depôt staff, inspectors of meat and animals, of fish and fruit, inspectors under the Food and Drugs Acts and the Factory and Workshops Acts, and others. The total sanitary administration staff consists of 162 persons (116 men and 46 women) besides the clerical staff. This is about 2 per 10,000 population.

* Dr. Reece's Report to the Local Government Board on the sanitary circumstances of Braintree.

Women Sanitary Inspectors

are particularly needed in districts where female labor is employed. The women inspectors should ascertain whether proper and sufficient sanitary conveniences are provided for women in factories, workshops and work places, and they should supervise the general sanitation of workshops and work places where female labor is employed and of the homes of outworkers. Women inspectors may take part in house-to-house inspection and in the supervision of tenement houses, and they can do very useful work in making enquiries in cases of infectious disease, investigating cases of overcrowding and other insanitary conditions. In some districts the women sanitary inspectors devote part of their time to health visiting; in others this work is carried out by special

Health Visitors

who give their whole time to the work. Health visiting is a most important department of the work of a Health Committee, and in every district there should be one or more properly salaried and qualified women for this work, as well as a staff of volunteer helpers.

The duties of health visitors are various, but perhaps most important is to visit mothers in their own homes and to give sympathetic counsel on what is necessary for the successful rearing of babies. It is desirable that the health visitor should have had some experience in nursing, and even if she is not to be employed as a sanitary inspector she should have had training in practical sanitation and should possess a certificate as a sanitary inspector.

An enquiry instituted by the National League of Physical Training shows that in at least ninety places there are one or more health visitors paid entirely from the rates, in twenty places there are from three to four women sanitary inspectors whose official duties include health visiting. In many districts bodies of voluntary health visitors have been organized, and if these are carefully supervised by the paid staff the results are often satisfactory. In thirty-five districts it is believed that infant mortality has been reduced through health visiting, and these include such towns as Glasgow, Hanley, Huddersfield, Macclesfield and Middlesborough, where the conditions cannot be considered generally favorable to infant life.

At Brighton the Town Council has started municipal home nursing. A trained nurse is employed who attends at home on such cases as puerperal fever or erysipelas, when removal to hospital is not considered desirable. Nurses to visit the sick poor in their homes are also provided by the Health Committee of the Worcestershire County Council, and this example might well be imitated elsewhere. The Barry Urban District Council also sends out its hospital nurses into the homes.

Having briefly described the chief officers of a health department, we may now proceed to indicate some of the more important features of its work.

Now the bulk of a Health Committee's work may be summed up by saying that it strives to secure

Systematic Cleanliness.

"Cleanliness," said Sir B. W. Richardson, "covers the whole field of sanitary labor. It is the beginning and the end." This rather overstates the case; but at all events we may agree with Sir John Simon, who said that "Uncleanness must be reckoned as the deadliest of our present removable causes of disease." We want cleanliness in many places, and in the first place we want

Cleanliness in the Atmosphere.

In most of our manufacturing districts the atmosphere is anything but clean. Professor Cohen, of the Leeds University, has calculated that within the four most thickly populated square miles of Leeds twenty tons of soot are discharged daily into the air. It is an offence against the Public Health Act, 1875, Sec. 91, to allow any chimney (not being the chimney of a private dwelling house) to send forth black smoke in such quantity as to be a nuisance; and the same section provides that any fireplace or furnace used in any trade process must, as far as practicable, consume its own smoke. But in many districts this law is a dead letter, and the sanitary authority tacitly allows factories to pollute the air with poisonous smoke. It is said in excuse of this *laissez faire* policy that the emission of smoke is unavoidable, and that any attempt to control it would only hamper home industries. This is nonsense. A smoky chimney is wasteful to the owner; it is a danger to the community by shutting out the sunlight that is so essential to health, and it is an unnecessary evil. The emission of smoke can be prevented as in some districts it is prevented, and it is not necessary to instal elaborate and expensive appliances. The chief preventive measure is good stoking. If a manufacturer chooses trustworthy stokers, pays them well, and makes it worth their while not to allow black smoke, he will keep his chimneys clean and at the same time confer a benefit on his neighbors. In Glasgow, according to the chief sanitary inspector, 90 per cent. of the complaints made against manufacturers are caused by careless stoking. In Germany the training of stokers is subsidized by the Government as a branch of technical education.* The same thing is done by the Education Committee of the Leicester Town Council. It would often be a good thing to get the Health Committee to urge the Education Committee to start such classes for stokers. No Health Committee is doing its work properly if it fails to deal with the smoke nuisance.

Cleanliness in the Street.

Dirt in the street soon finds its way into the house. A good deal of the dust in a city dweller's house consists of dried horse dung blown in from the street. Street cleanliness is a matter partly of

* "The Destruction of Daylight," by J. W. Graham.

paving and partly of scavenging, both under the control of the Highways Committee, but the Health Committee, being responsible for the health of the district, should take note of them and should offer to the Highways Committee any suggestions that seem called for in the interest of the public. It must be remembered that the side streets of our large towns serve as playgrounds for the children, and for their sake we should make them as healthy as possible. A town street should be paved with impervious material which does not, as macadam does, soak up filth. With a smooth impervious pavement the street is washed clean by every shower and scavenging becomes much simpler and more effective ; for on a smooth impervious surface the hose and the squeegee can be used with excellent effect, as is done in parts of London and in many continental cities. The best form of pavement is asphalt, but tarred macadam is also very good and is much less expensive to lay down. In Battersea, since 1904, the carriage ways of fifty-two streets have been paved in this manner, and the great decrease in mortality that has taken place in the areas where this pavement has been laid down is attributed by the Medical Officer of Health in part to the improved paving.* Another important feature of civic cleanliness is a frequent

Removal of Dust.

In many districts garbage and house refuse is only taken away once a week. This is not often enough. The first principle of sanitation is that all refuse and waste matter should be removed as quickly as possible. Many towns have adopted a daily dust removal, and this system should be adopted in all urban areas. All fixed ash-pits should be abolished and only moveable metal receptacles should be used. The frequent

Removal of Manure

from stables, mews and other premises should be insisted upon. Manure heaps are good breeding-grounds for flies, which are now known to be inimical to health. Flies convey the germs of disease from the filth in which they live to human food, especially milk, and in order to keep down the plague of flies accumulations of manure and other filth should be prevented. Under Section 50 of the Public Health Act, 1875, an urban sanitary authority can require the daily removal of manure or other refuse matter from mews, stables, or other premises, and this should be done particularly in the summer.

Backyard Cleanliness.

If the backyard is not clean the house will not be clean, for filth from the yard soon finds its way into the house. It will be brought in as mud in wet weather and blown in as dust in dry weather. Yard cleanliness, like street cleanliness, is greatly promoted by impervious paving. The surface of a backyard tends to become polluted with all kinds of filth, the excrement of domestic animals, droppings from the dust-bin, scraps of putrefying food, etc., and there is reason

* Annual Report of Dr. Lennane, Medical Officer of Health, Battersea, 1908.

to think that the contamination of milk and other food with foul dust from a polluted backyard is one of the causes of summer diarrhœa. Backyards should be paved with a smooth, impervious surface properly sloped to a gully. Such a yard will be effectually cleansed by every shower of rain.

Having secured cleanliness outside we must see that there is cleanliness inside, and for this purpose the Health Committee must institute a

House-to-house Inspection.

In every district there should always be going on a systematic inspection which should cover the whole of the district at least once in five years. Every year each of the inspectors engaged in this work should have a number of streets allotted to him, and he should go from house to house with a keen nose for insanitary conditions. This inspection should by no means be confined to the poorer quarters of the district. Bad sanitation exists in good class houses. Overcrowding may occur in servants' bedrooms, and bad smells and rats from defective drains, although they may be unnoticed by the family upstairs, may be a source of considerable discomfort and danger to the servants in their underground kitchens.

The caretakers' quarters in a block of commodious and imposing flats may be grossly insanitary. In Hampstead a systematic inspection of flats revealed the fact that in many cases the caretaker was housed in illegally occupied underground rooms.* Some classes of house require more frequent inspection than once in five years. This applies particularly to

Tenement Houses.

Many of these need constant supervision by the sanitary inspector to keep them in a decent sanitary condition, especially those originally built for one family only and occupied by several owing to the "going down" of the neighborhood. Most of the London poor have to live in such houses, and it is only in a few exceptional cases that any structural alterations have been made to adapt the house for occupation by more than one family. The result is that the tenements lack many domestic conveniences and cannot be called homes. For instance, in many of these houses the only water supply for all the occupiers is a tap in the basement. When water is so hard to obtain it is idle to expect people to be clean. The London County Council have recently obtained power, under Section 78 of the General Powers Act, 1907, for the London sanitary authorities to require a proper and sufficient supply of water on each storey of a tenement house. This section should be rigorously enforced, and sanitary authorities outside London should ask Parliament for similar power.

Many tenement houses greatly benefit by being registered as houses let in lodgings, thus becoming subject to the bye-laws relating to such houses. These confer useful powers upon the sanitary

* Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health, Hampstead, 1908.

authority and impose certain duties upon the landlord, as for instance the duty of carrying out an annual cleansing of the house. The Health Committee should if necessary exert pressure to keep the local authority up to its duty in making and enforcing these bye-laws.

Another type of house that needs special supervision is the

Common Lodging House.

The condition of these houses has greatly improved in recent years with the increasing efficiency of public health administration. The shifting population of a common lodging house has innumerable opportunities of spreading disease and vermin, and therefore requires careful supervision. A high standard of cleanliness should be maintained in these places; the beds should be kept free from vermin (an ordinary plumber's lamp will do wonders with an iron bedstead in the destruction of bugs); and spitting on the floor, which was formerly a common practice, should be sternly repressed. In the ordering of common lodging houses, as in many other things, example is better than precept, and the sanitary authority will find that by providing a well managed municipal common lodging house they will achieve more than can be done by any amount of inspection to raise the standard of the other common lodging houses in the district.

Cellar Dwellings.

Cellar dwellings, that is, underground rooms occupied separately as dwellings, are subject to special sanitary requirements—for instance, the Housing, Town Planning, etc., Act prohibits the use of an underground room as a sleeping place—and it is the business of the Health Committee to see that these requirements are fulfilled. Special inspections should be made for the discovery of these dwellings, which should be entered in a separate register and dealt with as the law provides.

The Protection of the Food Supply.

This is a vitally important part of a Health Committee's work. All places where food is prepared and sold, such as slaughter houses, butchers' shops, bakehouses, milk shops, restaurant kitchens and sausage factories, should be brought under frequent and systematic supervision. A vast amount of illness is due to unwholesome food. One at least of the sanitary inspectors should hold a special certificate of proficiency in meat inspection, and he should be on duty every Saturday night in the poorer parts of the district. Meat inspection is greatly helped by the establishment of a

Municipal Slaughter House,

which butchers should be encouraged to use. Private slaughter houses are objectionable on several grounds. Adequate inspection is extremely difficult, and the public has no proper security that the work is carried out either with humanity towards the animals or with the sanitary safeguards necessary for the consumers' health. But this is not all. "Besides the general public there is another

class which suffers from the system, namely, the unfortunate individuals who have to live in immediate proximity to the slaughter house. In nine cases out of ten we find these buildings packed away at the end of some court or alley with dwellings crowded round within a few yards of them." This proximity is exceedingly bad both from a sanitary and a moral point of view for the dwellers in these courts, especially women and young children.* Brighton has had a public abattoir for 15 years. This institution is made use of more and more every year, and yields an income of £400 to £500 a year in tolls.† Cheltenham, Glasgow, South Shields, Liverpool, Manchester, Dundee, Lincoln, Edinburgh, Leeds, Birmingham, amongst other towns, also have public abattoirs. If all animals used for food were killed in municipal slaughter houses under proper inspection a good deal of disease would be prevented. In this respect England is far behind Germany and other countries. More important than meat, however, is the question of the

Milk Supply.

Milk is a most valuable food, but it is easily contaminated, and when contaminated may be a deadly poison. Adulteration with water or chemicals may be dealt with under the Sale of Food and Drugs Acts, but filth and germs are much more serious, and the law at present is inadequate to deal with them. But even under the present law a good deal can be done to enforce decent sanitation in cowsheds, dairies and milk shops, and the Health Committee should see that these places are frequently inspected.

Towns are at a disadvantage in this matter, for nearly all the milk consumed in the towns is produced in the country. Rural sanitary authorities if they did their work properly could effect considerable improvements in our milk supply. Every member of a Health Committee should procure a copy of the regulations that apply to cowsheds, dairies and milk shops, and should see that these regulations instead of remaining a dead letter, as is too often the case, are properly enforced.

The Prevention of Adulteration.

Every local authority charged with the administration of the Sale of Food and Drugs Acts should take a sufficient number of samples for analysis under the Acts. The number that ought to be taken will vary in different districts, but it should not as a rule fall below 10 samples per 1,000 population per year.

This work should be done by special inspectors, who should use their wits to frustrate the numerous dodges devised by dishonest traders to evade the Acts. The inspectors soon become well known, and it is useless for them to purchase samples personally. They must work through agents and must change the agents frequently.

* See an excellent article on this subject by Christopher Cash, B.A., in the *Medical Officer*, May, 1909, p. 876, and the same writer's book "Our Slaughter House System," Bell, 1907.

† See Report of the Medical Officer.

Another precaution is necessary. Fraudulent traders always keep the genuine article and are careful to supply it to strangers who may possibly be inspectors' agents. The adulterated article is reserved for regular customers, and in dealing with this class of trader it is necessary for the agent to become a regular customer by making a number of purchases before the official sample is taken. This plan should also be adopted for the detection of the shopkeepers who make big profits by selling margarine as butter.

The analyses made under the Food and Drugs Acts are chemical analyses, and although they afford valuable information of the kind of food that is consumed in the district it is necessary also in the case of certain articles of food and drink to make a periodical

Bacteriological Analysis.

The water supply, milk supply, and certain foods should be analysed for the presence of germs—either the germs of disease or germs that indicate pollution with sewage or other noxious matter. For instance, samples of milk should be examined for the presence of tubercle bacilli. The Health Committee ought to know what proportion of milk consumed in their district contains the germs of tuberculosis.

The sanitary authority should arrange with a bacteriological laboratory of repute for the examination of samples or else establish a municipal laboratory.

Bacteriological examination is most useful also in the

Prevention of Infectious Disease.

In the control of these diseases it is essential to arrive at an early diagnosis, so that the patient may be properly isolated and disinfection carried out. In certain diseases, for instance, diphtheria and typhoid fever, the bacteriological examination of a specimen taken from the patient may result in an early diagnosis which otherwise would be delayed. The cost of such examinations, which are made chiefly in the interest of the public, should be borne by the public, and every sanitary authority should encourage the doctors in the district to send specimens for examination free of cost.

Maintenance of the Public Health.

But the duty of the Health Committee is not only to prevent the occurrence of disease: it is also to see to all the disease that does occur, in order to ensure that the necessary steps may be taken to prevent its recurrence in the same or any other person. For this purpose the Health Committee has very large powers; indeed, under Section 133 of the Public Health Acts, Health Committees may take almost any action that they think necessary in emergency to save life or prevent disease. Thus, they may do (as the Liverpool and Manchester Town Councils have done) pay the fees of doctors called in under the Midwives Act, 1902, in cases of emergency; they may (as many Health Committees have done) supply any medicines or drugs free of charge to patients or medical practitioners, and even

(as some Health Committees have occasionally done) pay medical practitioners to administer them ; they may (as some Health Committees do) treat scarlet fever or puerperal fever, or, indeed, any other disease, in the patient's own home, instead of removing the case to their hospital ; they may (like the Worcestershire County Council) start a whole system of domiciliary nursing ; they may even, as part of the treatment, pay what is necessary for the maintenance of the sick patient in his own home ; they may pay for the maintenance of "contacts," or those who are prevented from going to work because they have come in contact with infectious persons.

Hospitals.

The town or urban district council has power, under the Public Health Act, 1875, to establish and maintain public hospitals for all diseases whatsoever (including maternity). It is quite a mistake, though a common one, to suppose that this power is limited to isolation hospitals for infectious diseases. Very few Health Committees have yet used these powers, but the Barry Urban District Council and the Widnes Urban District Council have set up municipal hospitals for accidents and non-infectious cases. Why not get your council to do the same? The sanitary authority should at least provide hospital accommodation for the isolation of patients suffering from small pox, diphtheria, typhoid fever, and scarlet fever, and, wherever possible, for measles. In the latter disease, however, the hospital is wanted not so much to prevent the spread of infection, but to reduce the mortality from it. Children die of measles because they cannot in their own poor homes get the warmth, good food, and good nursing they need. Deaths are chiefly due to complications that could be prevented if the patients were properly looked after, which in many poor homes is impossible. Unhappily few districts provide as yet hospital accommodation for measles. The Liverpool Municipal Hospital now takes in cases of measles and whooping cough, and the same is said to be the case in Edinburgh. But in London the Metropolitan Asylums Board (which is the isolation hospital authority) refuses to take cases of measles, and except for a whooping cough ward in the Evelina Hospital, the only accommodation available for the poor is that provided in the poor law infirmaries. Hospitals free from the stigma of pauperism for measles patients who cannot be properly cared for in their own homes are much needed just now, and a Health Committee can do very good work in persuading the local authority to provide them.

The Prevention of Tuberculosis.*

This is one of the most pressing public health problems of the present time. Tuberculosis is due to the successful invasion of the body by a germ, the tubercle bacillus. It is communicable from man to man, and by means of meat, and especially milk, from animals to man. In its onslaught the tubercle bacillus is greatly

* On this subject the reader should consult "The Prevention of Tuberculosis," by Dr. Newsholme, Medical Officer of the Local Government Board.

helped if the person attacked lives among insanitary surroundings, is underfed, overworked, or alcoholic. Anything that tends to remove these conditions is working for the prevention of tuberculosis, but we want also more direct preventive measures aimed at the destruction of the bacillus itself. The chief source of infection is the expectoration of a consumptive patient, which contains millions of bacilli. These remain in the dust on floors and elsewhere, and are blown about by the wind. An easy way of attacking tuberculosis is to prevent indiscriminate spitting. The sanitary authority should distribute leaflets and printed notices on the dangers of spitting elsewhere than in a proper receptacle, and a byelaw against spitting in public places should be adopted. It is specially important that consumptive patients should be instructed as to the proper disposal of their expectoration. In order that such instruction may be given, proper spit-bottles provided, and disinfection carried out at public cost, as well as for other reasons, consumption should be made notifiable. Among poor law patients it is already notifiable, and this rule should be extended to all classes, either by a voluntary system, or by following the example of Sheffield and securing compulsory notifications by means of a private Act. The early diagnosis of consumption is important, not only because it enables preventive measures to be taken at the beginning of the disease, but also because the patient's chances of recovery depend chiefly upon the early adoption of proper treatment. The sanitary authority should offer free bacteriological examination of sputum and should establish a

Tuberculosis Dispensary.

These have been established in large numbers in France, and have been found of great value. In our country one has been at work in Edinburgh since 1887, and another has recently been established in Paddington. The work of these dispensaries is to detect early cases of consumption, to treat in their own homes patients who cannot go to a sanatorium and who are unable to pay for medical treatment, to help the patients to live healthy lives as far as possible, and to instruct them so that they may not be a danger to others. The dispensary doctor supervises the home treatment and enquires as to the health of the other members of the family with a view to detecting cases of the disease while they are still in the early and curable stage.

The dispensary supplies cod-liver oil and other medical necessities, and attached to it there is usually a body of philanthropic workers, who obtain suitable employment for the patient, give financial assistance when required to the family, and afford help in various other ways. A tuberculosis dispensary should form part of the health department in every large urban area. Wherever possible, the Health Committee should also have its own hospital for consumptive patients, as the Brighton Health Committee has, where the patient can go for a month or two, and be taught how to live.

Another necessary institution is the

Phthisis Sanatorium.

Sanatoria are needed for two classes. First there are the patients in an advanced stage of the disease, for whom cure is hopeless. These patients are the most dangerous sources of infection, for they not only bring up a large quantity of sputum, but they are too weak to observe the strict cleanliness that a consumptive must maintain if he is not to be a source of grave danger to his family. The poor among these patients frequently die in Poor Law institutions, in many of which the consumptives are nursed in the general wards. Sanatoria where these unfortunate people may end their days free from the stigma of pauperism are much needed.

Sanatoria are needed also for patients in the earlier stages of consumption. Dr. Newsholme thus sums up their advantages.*

1. In early and suitable cases a cure may be expected.
2. Short of a cure, in a large number of cases, arrest of disease occurs, the patient is able to resume his work at least to a modified extent, and his working life is much prolonged.
3. While the patient is in the sanatorium his home is disinfected, his relatives are free from recurring infection, and have time to recover their full measure of resistance to infection.
4. On his return home and to his work the patient is much less likely than before, even though he continues to have sputum containing tubercule bacilli, to be a source of infection to others.

In some towns, for instance Brighton and Leicester, it has been found possible to devote one or more blocks of the isolation hospital to sanatorium treatment of consumption, and with great success.

In Brighton this treatment is offered in all cases suitable for it, and in actual fact more than half the total cases at present under observation in Brighton have spent at least four weeks in the Borough Sanatorium, and have there been taught the precautionary measures needed to prevent infection and the personal régime suitable to their illness; while at the same time their families have had a temporary holiday from sick-nursing, the house has been disinfected, and the patient has returned with a knowledge of the way to avoid re-infecting it.

The Cleansing of Verminous Persons.

There is one communicable disease that calls for special mention, and that is *pediculosis* or lousiness. This is a horrible condition that ought not to be tolerated in a civilized community, and it specially afflicts two classes—school children and the inmates of common lodging houses. The Children Act, 1908, gives the local education authority power to enforce the cleansing of school children, and the London County Council's General Powers Act, 1907, contains a provision, which might with advantage appear in many local Acts, conferring a similar power with regard to the inmates of common

* Newsholme, "The Prevention of Tuberculosis," p. 332 (abbreviated).

lodging houses. By the Cleansing of Persons Act, 1897, a sanitary authority has power to fit up and maintain a cleansing station, and in Marylebone, where the Act is energetically administered, about 30,000 persons have been freed from vermin in the last ten years. Do not despise this matter, or think it of no consequence. Every town ought to provide in some way for this help to the poor to keep themselves clean.

Infant Mortality.

The prevention of infant mortality is a matter of supreme importance, and every member of a Health Committee should find out precisely what is being done in his district in this direction. Ask the Medical Officer for a special report as to how the infantile death rate compares with that of other places, and as to what is being done to reduce it. Infant mortality is due to many causes, and must be fought with many weapons. One of the most important causes is summer diarrhœa, which is a filth disease and can be prevented by cleanliness. The measures for promoting cleanliness indicated in the earlier part of this tract are most important in this connection. Clean air, clean streets, clean yards, clean houses, all work together to protect infant life. But other measures are necessary. There should be a wide dissemination of information about the proper ways of feeding and generally looking after babies. Cards containing instruction on these matters should be freely distributed, and a sufficient number of health visitors should be employed to visit mothers and give them practical instruction. The health visitors should begin their visits early in the baby's life, and this cannot be done unless they have timely notice of the baby's arrival. The Notification of Births Act should, therefore, be adopted. Mothers should be encouraged to bring their babies periodically to be weighed, so that it may be seen whether their progress is satisfactory. In Battersea a room at the public baths is set aside one afternoon a week for baby weighing. The mothers should be encouraged to nurse their babies; but often this is impracticable, because the mother, from want of food, loses her milk. In many districts efforts are now being made to supply nursing mothers with the food required to enable them to continue to nurse. Such schemes should be supported by the Health Committee who, for instance, might arrange (as has been done in France) to supply nursing mothers with milk at reduced rates from the

Municipal Milk Depot,

which a progressive sanitary authority in earnest about infant mortality will establish. There are many babies who, for various reasons, cannot be naturally fed, and these too frequently are given condensed milk, worthless patent foods, and unwholesome cow's milk. For these babies properly prepared milk may mean the difference between life and death.*

* For further details see "Municipal Milk and Public Health," by F. Lawson Dodd, D.P.H. Fabian Tract No. 122.

The Supervision of Midwives.

The county and county borough councils administer the Midwives Act, 1902, which is one of the most important measures ever placed on the statute book. Every year thousands of women die in child-bed from causes that could have been prevented had the women been properly looked after. No less than 50 per cent. of the births in this country take place under the care of midwives, who by the Midwives Act are brought for the first time under supervision. The local authority should appoint skilled persons to supervise the midwives—women doctors are specially useful for this purpose—and should see that a high standard of cleanliness and efficiency is maintained. In difficult cases a midwife is obliged to call in a doctor, and one of the defects of the Act is that no provision is made for the payment of the doctor in those cases, unfortunately very numerous, where the patient is unable to pay the fee. In some districts the fee is paid by the guardians, after much delay and repeated enquiries by the relieving officer, and then only in cases in which the family is adjudged to be destitute, but this is most inadvisable, for it makes the patient and her husband paupers, which they bitterly resent; it “worryes” the poor woman, and it tends to prevent the smooth and effective working of the Act. The doctors summoned by midwives should be paid by the authority entrusted with the supervision of the midwives. This is done in Liverpool and Manchester, with highly satisfactory results; and every Health Committee should order it to be done under Section 133 of the Public Health Act.

USEFUL BOOKS on the subject which every Public Library should have, and which the Library Committee would probably procure on a Councillor's application:—

- Sanitary Law and Practice. ROBERTSON and PORTER. The Sanitary Publishing Company. 10s. 6d.
 Public Health Problems. J. F. SYKES. Walter Scott.
 The Health of the State. G. NEWMAN. Headley Brothers. 1s.
 The Prevention of Tuberculosis. ARTHUR NEWSHOLME. Methuen. 7s. 6d.
 Infant Mortality. G. NEWMAN. Methuen. 7s. 6d.
 The Public Health Agitation, 1833-48. B. L. HUTCHINS. Fifield. 2s. 6d.
 English Sanitary Institutions. Sir JOHN SIMON. Smith Elder and Co.
 The Destruction of Daylight. J. W. GRAHAM. Allen. 1s. 6d.
 Infantile Mortality and Infants' Milk Depots. G. F. MCCLEARY. 1905.
 The Common Sense of the Milk Question. JOSEPH SPARGO. Macmillan.
 The Problem of the Milk Supply. F. LAWSON DODD. Baillière. 1s. 6d.
 The Work of the Health Visitor. G. F. MCCLEARY. *Albany Review*, April, 1907.
 Public Health Administration in Glasgow. J. B. RUSSELL and A. K. CHALMERS. Maclehose. 1905.
 The Hygiene of School Life. RALPH H. CROWLEY. Methuen. 1910.
 Annual Reports of the Public Health Committee of the L.C.C., submitting reports of Chief Medical Officer and Medical Officer (Education). King.
 Annual Report of the Medical Officer of the Local Government Board. Wyman.
 Annual Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education. Wyman.
 Annual Reports of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops. Wyman.

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THE ENDOWMENT OF MOTHERHOOD.

“It were good that men in their Innovations would follow the example of Time itself, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees scarce to be perceived. . . . It is good also not to try experiments in States except the Necessity be urgent, or the utility evident : and well to beware that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation.”
—BACON, “On Innovations.”

The Need.

It is one of the paradoxes of our present stage of democracy that public attention is habitually rivetted on the discussion of those questions on which men differ most, instead of on the furtherance of those measures upon which they most agree. Were it not so, the proposals that have been made in certain quarters of late years for the endowment of motherhood, for maternity pensions, or, at least, for some form of insurance against some of the initial expenses of maternity, would surely have been more favorably noticed. To raise the economic status of women by a method which would emphasize and appreciate at its full value their work as mothers of the race is an aim in which Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists, both male and female, find themselves in accord. To focus the collective energy of the State on the task of building the homes of England anew, should reconcile to Socialism those whose opposition is at present most reasoned and most sincere.

The proposals contained in the present paper are advanced from the standpoint of our present social conditions, and of the present attitude of the public towards them. There are those who believe that if we could wipe out the world and begin creation afresh we should make a much better job of it ; but whether this be so or not, in any move towards political progress we have to start from where we are, and deal with the world as it is. Ideals have their value. There is an ideal state in my own mind where all babies would have the best chance of growing up into perfect men made in God's image, where all mothers would have pleasure in the beauty of their motherhood, and receive the meed of care and reward that is their due. Such a state is in my mind, such a state on this earth and in this England I believe one day may come to pass ; but I have no intention of describing it. For no ideals are worth much until in our imagination we have succeeded in linking them on to the present state of things, until we have formed an idea of how we are to make for them. And it is this next step which is my humble subject here ; humble, because it is small, imperfect, and somewhat uncertain ; and yet not without value if it leads out of the confusion of to-day towards the saner order of a future time.

What then is the present condition of things from which, as I have said, we must start, as they affect the mothers and the children during the crisis of maternity?

Millions of our people live in poverty, and it is just at the period of child-bearing that the shoe of poverty pinches most. Not only are its effects most disastrous, but actually there are a greater proportion of our families in poverty at that time than at any other. Men or women while single can keep themselves with comparative ease. After fifteen years of marriage the elder children begin to bring money into the home to supplement the parents' earnings. Later on the children marry and are off the parents' hands altogether; and even for the helplessness of old age there is now a pension in store. But in the early years of marriage the earnings are smallest, the expenses highest, and the proportion of poverty is greater than at any other time.* Such are the circumstances of motherhood and child-bearing in the present conditions.

The result can be measured in the figures of infant mortality, but they only tell half the tale. The holocaust of little children may have its problems for the next world, but once they are dead we have no more to do with them; it is the survivors that matter most, and though they may come out of the fire alive, they are in most cases not unscathed: they carry in one form or another through all their remaining years the heavy handicap of the conditions which environed them even before they were born, and made their coming more than half a tragedy. It is because of the survivors more than for its intrinsic importance, that it is worth while to draw attention to infant mortality—the danger signal of modern family life.

Infant Mortality.

The death rate among infants during the first years of life is still excessive, although at last it shows signs of diminishing. Owing to the advance of medical knowledge and the improvement in hygiene, the general death rate has declined during the past 50 years, but the infant death rate shows no equivalent change. The mortality of children between the ages of 5 and 10 has been reduced from 7·8 per thousand in 1857 to 3·4 per thousand in 1907, but the mortality among children under 5 has been reduced during the same period only from 67·8 to 40·9. And the mortality of infants under one year actually increased from 145 in the decade 1845-1854, to 154 in the decade 1891-1900. It has however declined to 138 for the 5 years 1901-1905, and still further to 118 for 1907.†

Half the deaths of infants under one year occur in the first three months. Three times as many babies die in the first month as in any subsequent month. Of the deaths in the first month, the greatest number occur in the first week. If babies went on dying at the same rate as they die in the first week, none would live to be a

* See this brought out with impressive effect in "Poverty: a Study of Town Life," by Seebohm Rowntree.

† Local Government Board Report on Social Conditions, 1909.

year old. Of these deaths in the first week, the majority occur on the first day.*

The chances of infant life may be thus expressed: The highest death rate is on the first day. It declines gradually during the rest of that week, falls enormously the second week, remains about stationary the third week, falls again considerably the fourth week, falls enormously in the second month, after which it continues to fall slowly during the rest of the year.

The figures vary according to locality, but, speaking generally, they are highest in mining and industrial districts, and especially where women are employed in industry. The worst county for 1907 was Lancashire with a mortality of 161 per 1,000. Nine rural counties had a mortality of under 90. The rate of infant deaths in the three worst towns is double that of the three worst counties. In 1907, Stalybridge had a mortality of 219.†

But these oft-quoted figures do not tell the whole tale, for high as the rate of infant mortality is for the whole population, the rate for the unskilled working class is far higher still. When the general infant mortality rate at York was 176, Mr. Rowntree calculated that for the poorest section of the working class it was 247.

If any person in the prosperous middle or upper class will take the trouble to compute how many babies have died in their first year of life in his own family and in those closely connected with him, he will find that this mortality does not amount to more than two or three out of a hundred births, or at the rate of 20 or 30 per thousand. In families in which adequate food and attention can be given, the infantile death rate, even in towns, is already kept down to such a figure. Here are some official statistics.

INFANT MORTALITY PER 1,000 BIRTHS †

England and Wales :—

1873-1877	...	...	...	...	148 (average)
1892-1902	...	...	...	...	152 "
1907	...	...	...	...	118 "

London and ten urban counties for the same period :—

1873-1877	...	...	...	...	161 (average)
1892-1902	...	...	...	...	165 "
1907	...	...	...	...	128 "

In sixteen rural counties :—

1873-1877	...	...	...	...	127 (average)
1892-1902	...	...	...	...	125 "
1907	...	...	...	...	99 "

* "Infant Mortality," Dr. Geo. Newman.

† The figures for illegitimate children are of course higher than for legitimate children. In Manchester, with an infant death rate of 169 for legitimate children, the figure for illegitimate children was 362.

‡ Local Government Board Report on Social Conditions, 1909.

The nine counties with infant mortality rate under 90 in 1907 were: Dorset, Wiltshire, Hertfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Herefordshire, Cambridgeshire, Surrey, and Sussex.

Infant mortality in Europe 1896-1905 per 1,000 :—

Russia	...	...	268	Italy	...	...	168
Austria	...	...	223	Belgium	...	...	153
Hungary	...	...	215	France	...	...	149
Prussia	...	...	196	England	...	...	147
Spain	...	...	178	Holland	...	...	144

Causes of Infant Mortality.

The principal causes of death are—

- (a) In the first three months—diseases of immaturity.
- (b) In the second three months—diseases of digestion, *e.g.*, diarrhœa.
- (c) In the third three months—diseases of respiration, *e.g.*, pneumonia.

The deaths from these three causes are steadily increasing in proportion, in spite of the advance of medicine, which saves the lives of thousands of children in other diseases.

The causes of these three groups of disease are roughly as follows :—

(a) *Immaturity* is mainly due to over-fatigue of mothers when pregnant, coupled with under-feeding, and the sort of bread-tea-and-pickles diet in which so many women indulge, in some cases perhaps through vitiated taste, but more often the direct result of their low economic conditions.

(b) *Gastric trouble*.—Diarrhœa, which carries off so many victims in the second three months of life, is mainly the result of neglect and mismanagement; in fact, of bad mothering, due to poverty, drink, or ignorance; dirt, dirty bottles, improper food, and above all, irregular feeding, contribute principally to this group of diseases.

Epidemic diarrhœa is most prevalent in the third quarter of the year. The worst month is August. Here are the figures :

Mortality from epidemic diarrhœa :—

Rural districts generally	...	...	...	5 per 1,000
Wigan and Liverpool	...	...	...	20-30 "
Manchester	...	...	...	30-40 "
For the whole country (average) 1891-1900...				27 "
" " " " 1901-1906...				25 "

(c) *Respiratory Diseases* are principally due to exposure. Leaving babies to lie in wet clothing, exposing them to sudden changes of temperature in the air they breathe, from the hot stuffy upper room to the door-step, from the warm, crowded mothers' meeting to the frosty night air outside—these things affect the bronchial tubes and lungs of a baby however well wrapped up, and claim their victims by the mass.

Present Provision for Maternity.

I have said enough to call attention to the havoc of human life and health which is being wrought under present conditions in English homes, and yet in our haphazard way there is a great deal that we do already, both individually and collectively, to meet the needs of maternity at the present time, and in order to be in a position to grapple with the problem, it is necessary to realize just what is now being done by the State, by charity, and by individual thrift.

(a) The State aid has been so fully dealt with in Chapter III. of the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission that it need not be explained in detail here.

In the first place there are some 15,000 babies born in Poor Law Institutions. Then there is the large number of mothers who receive medical (including midwifery) orders, sometimes with, sometimes without, outdoor relief. The number of infants under one year maintained on outdoor relief is about 5,000. The policy that governs the provision of relief and medical aid varies with the locality, and the relief when given is as a rule inadequate and wholly unconditioned, the welfare of the child not being taken into consideration.

Side by side with the Poor Law there is the intervention of the local health authorities with their provision of midwives and medical advice, in some cases even of milk. Their activities are less universal than those of the Poor Law, but the principles that guide them are more rational, aiming as they do at education rather than mere relief, dealing with the future welfare of the child rather than with the present destitution of the mother. By the establishment of health visitors alone, quite extraordinary results have been already obtained in some districts.

Now that midwives are under the statutory obligation by the Midwives Act of 1902 to call in a doctor when certain difficulties occur, local authorities often, though not always, pay the doctor's fees in such cases, and this practice will become more general.

The Minority Report lays stress on the need for a unified service for birth and infancy, and also for the co-ordination and amplification of what has already been done by the community as such.

(b) Turning to charities, there are :—

1. *The Maternity Hospitals.*—These are fewer than might be expected. There are seven in London, which in the year 1905 dealt with about 12,000 patients, or under ten per cent. of the births of London. In the rest of the United Kingdom there appear to be at least nineteen, of which six are in Ireland.
2. *The General Hospitals, including Hospitals for Women.*—The bulk of the indoor cases treated in the general hospitals are cases that have serious complications, but there are a large number of outdoor cases treated by students for the purpose of education.

3. *Nurses and Midwives whose fees are partly paid by charitable boaiies.*—There are at least twenty such charities in London.

(c) There are a few friendly societies which give maternity benefits ; for example, the Hearts of Oak pays thirty shillings to the husband, and the Royal Oak Society two pounds, but most of the other friendly societies make no special provision for maternity at all.

In women's friendly societies confinements would be reckoned with other illnesses.

There are of course in existence numerous medical clubs which provide a doctor on payment of a weekly sum of money, and many slate clubs pay for doctor and midwife during confinement.*

It will be seen from the foregoing that an immense amount of care and expense is already being devoted to maternity and infancy in this country, and yet the result is as I have described above ; inadequacy, diversity, overlapping, want of system, mark all that is being done. The money spent, welcome as it is in individual cases, is largely wasted in so far as the community is concerned ; for the problem, as a whole, has not yet been faced, the enemy is still at the gates.

Immaturity, digestive disease and respiratory disease—the three main causes of infant mortality—are still sapping the fitness of the surviving population. If we are to safeguard and strengthen our race, we must roll back the attacking armies as they approach along these three main lines of advance. The critical period is the first three years of life ; the battlefield is the home.

The Community must Step In.

People must soon realize, however anti-social their prejudices may be, that home life in its old sense has been half destroyed by our modern industrial system. It is no use prating of its sacredness, and of the value of parental responsibility. Such homes as unfortunately exist by thousands in our industrial centres are not sacred ; they are blighted ; a healthy nation has no use for them ; they must be either ended or mended. In one form or another the community must interfere.

Two principles should guide our interference. The first is the simple proverbial one that "prevention is better than cure." If we are to assume, as we do assume, and have assumed for centuries back, the responsibility for the motley wreckage of human society in the form of old people, sick people, paupers, wastrels, criminals, lunatics and the rest, it is plain common sense not to let our State activity begin there, but to assert also the right to interfere with the conditions out of which this wreckage is produced.

The second principle is a financial one. Money spent on the beginning of life is more economical than money spent on the end of life. Money spent on a child is returned to the community in two ways. First, in saving of expenditure at the other end of the scale ; secondly, in the actual production of future wealth. It should

* "The Endowment of Motherhood," Dr. Eder.

be regarded as an insurance against the expense of wreckage in the future. It may also be regarded as an investment bearing interest in the shape of health, energy, intelligence and labor power in the coming generation. It is financially well worth our while to develop our children, or at least to safeguard them sufficiently to enable them to accomplish the work that lies before them in life,—whether mental or physical, whether as citizens or as rulers, whether as wage-earners or as captains of industry.

Granting the need of State intervention, what form is it to take? Are we to replace the home by State institutions, or shall we set ourselves to build the home anew? There is much to be said for either alternative.

State Maintenance.

On the one hand, the State maintenance of children would probably enable the physical welfare of the growing race to be most efficiently safeguarded. Plato advocated State nurseries more than two thousand years ago, and various modifications of his plan have attracted advanced thinkers of all ages since his time. In some respects modern practice in England is tending in that direction. Compulsory State schools on the one hand, and the participation of women in industrial occupations on the other, tend more and more to divest the parents of their old responsibilities and force the community to take them up. It is only a few steps in one direction from the present state of things to the complete State maintenance of children, and the practical abolition of the family as a social unit. We might have State or municipal hospitals with maternity wards to which every woman could have access, where babies could be launched into life under ideal sanitary conditions, be fed well, nursed properly, and given the best possible start. Then we might have public endowment for the encouragement of nursing mothers, side by side with public crèches into which the children would be drafted, and remain under perfect conditions of food, air and nursing until old enough to go into the public nurseries or kindergartens which would replace our present infant schools, and where physical and mental development would be carried out on a progressive system until the children were of age to enter the public elementary schools. In the schools, too, meals and games would be arranged for as at present in the upper and middle class schools. Perhaps the buildings, instead of being dotted about, would be grouped in open spaces, with playgrounds in accessible suburban spots to and from which free trams could convey the thousands of children whose homes might still be in crowded districts. And perhaps, too, dormitories could be provided for the children of those, who, like the parents of the middle and upper classes, might prefer the boarding school to the day school as affording better discipline and training of character. By some such means as these, the budding citizens could be rescued from the evils that beset them now, and home-life, already more than half destroyed by modern industry, could be supplemented and replaced out of the wealth that industry produces.

Such an ideal is well worth notice. It could easily be linked on to our present conditions ; it would strike at the root of the deterioration over which the public shed their unanimous but futile tears.

Objections to State Maintenance.

But it has two great disadvantages.

The first is on the merits. The death rate of infants, not only in workhouses, but also in well managed private institutions, compares most unfavorably with that in the homes, even of the worst districts. The Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission (pages 100 and following) shows that the infant mortality in Poor Law Institutions is between two and three times as great as in the general population ; and that this is not entirely due to mismanagement is shown by the fact given in the same report that "3,000 infants attended to in their homes—poor and wretched as were those homes—by the competent nurses of the Plaistow Maternity Charity, had a death rate during the first fortnight after birth considerably less than that in *the most successful voluntary hospitals.*"*

The following are the rates of infant mortality for first fortnight per 1,000 births.†

In four large maternity hospitals of London	...	...	...	...	30
For whole population ... ..	...	...	...	...	31·1
In poor law institutions of London—					
Legitimate children	...	...	...	...	47·2
Illegitimate children	...	...	...	...	46·1
In poor law institutions outside London—					
Legitimate children	...	...	..	...	51·2
Illegitimate children	...	...	...	...	53·6

These statistics must be taken with some reserve, and are not by any means conclusive ; but they point to the peculiar danger of institutions for infants which, although it is at present unexplained, we cannot afford to ignore, and they certainly justify the conclusion arrived at by the signatories to that report : "It may well be that human infants, like chickens, cannot long be aggregated together even in the most carefully devised surroundings without being injuriously affected."

On the other hand, Dr. McVale in his report to the Poor Law Commission is impressed by the admirable work done in the maternity wards in the large city infirmaries. "There could be no comparison between the comfort and safety of midwifery practised in such surroundings and that conducted in the homes of the labor classes. . . . I see no reason not to give institutional treatment."

Apart from these facts altogether the institutional solution savors too much of what a great philosopher calls "regimentation." It might tend to cut the race all to one pattern, to turn out citizens after the fashion of machine-made articles. It might tend to stifle true

* Of 3,005 infants attended at birth by the nurses of the Plaistow Maternity Charity in the mother's own home in one of the most poverty-stricken districts of West Ham, 47 died in the first fortnight, or 15·33 per 1,000 births.

† Minority Report, Part I, Chapter III.

individualism, which it should be the aim of Socialism to enfranchise and uplift.

The second objection is one of expediency. Every step towards such an ideal as this would meet with the bitter opposition of that powerful class of opinion which wages perpetual warfare against any interference with the sanctity of home life. The ignorance of facts, terrible every-day twentieth century facts, shown by such people when they talk loosely about home life is pitiful enough, but their motive is genuine and sincere, and if this problem can be dealt with within the family instead of outside of it, by rebuilding the home instead of replacing it, the task of popularizing it will be far easier and, other things being equal, the method is preferable. There are signs that the desire to supply brand-new State institutions on hard and fast lines is giving way to the more elastic theory of State improvement and encouragement of existing conditions. The latest instance in point is old age pensions. We might have had communal almshouses on modern lines provided out of public money and not out of charity, enjoyed as a right and not as a favor, but instead of that we are pensioning the old people in their homes, and it is probably the extension and development of this policy that the future will bring.

So too will it be with the problem of the children. We have gone almost as far as English public opinion will ever go in the direction of State interference outside the home. Free and compulsory education, free and compulsory medical examination in the school, free and compulsory vaccination, free meals at the expense of the rates supplemented by voluntary hospitals, voluntary crèches, nursing systems, etc.—all these things have developed during the past generation. And yet it is not enough. The problems of health are not seriously grappled with even now. A step must be taken by the community, and taken soon, to safeguard the future race from the effects of the wide-spread disease of poverty which attacks our children by millions, spreading physical and moral devastation in each new generation; and if I believe that the response of the community to this call will be to build the home afresh instead of replacing it, it is not that, in the abstract, one theory is necessarily superior to the other, but because the English people have always chosen to transform rather than to abolish, and because the endowment of motherhood, while it will, like all forward steps, be first urged upon the community by Socialists, will command the support of those whose opposition to Socialism is based on the extraordinary error that its aim is to destroy the home.

The Scheme.

The need of State action has now been sufficiently emphasized, so too has the economic wisdom of it. Reasons have been adduced to show why such an action should be brought to bear *within* the home and not outside of it. Starting with these premises and bearing always in mind present conditions and the present state of public opinion, we have now to consider what scheme is possible.

The first step must be the establishment of a system of complete public provision for all the extra expenses incident on maternity.

Medical Attendance.

First and foremost comes the need for qualified medical and nursing attendance on the mother and the newly born infant. At present many mothers go almost unattended in their hour of need; many tens of thousands more have attendance that comes too late, or is quite inadequately qualified; hundreds of thousands of others fail to get the nursing and home assistance that is required to prevent long-continued suffering and ill health to mothers and children alike. This lack of qualified midwifery attendance and nursing will become even more apparent within a year or two, when the provisions of the Midwives Act come fully into force, and none but certificated midwives are allowed to practise. The local health authority ought to be required to provide within its area qualified medical attendance, including all necessary nursing, for all cases of childbirth of which it has received due notice. There is no reason why this should not be done as a measure of public health, free of charge to the patient, in the same way as vaccination is provided for all who do not object to that operation; and on the same principle that led to the gratuitous opening of the hospitals of the Metropolitan Asylums Board to any person suffering from particular diseases quite irrespective of his means.* What is, however, important is that the necessary medical attendance and nursing shall *always* be provided. If the community prefers to recover the cost from such patients as can clearly afford to pay—say, for instance, those having incomes above a prescribed amount—instead of from everybody in the form of rates and taxes, this (as with the payment for admission to an isolation hospital) may be an intermediate stage. In one way or another, there must be no childbirth without adequate attendance and help to the mother.

Pure Milk.

We have next to consider the need of sustenance, both of the mother and of the newly born citizen. At present many tens of thousands of these infants perish simply from inanition in the first few days or weeks after birth. In town and country alike many hundreds of thousands of families find the greatest difficulty, even when they can pay for it, in buying milk of reasonable purity and freshness, or in getting it just when they require it, or often indeed in getting it at all. The arguments in favor of the municipalization of the milk supply are overwhelming in strength.† But an even stronger case can be made out for the systematic provision by the Local Health Authority, to every household in which a birth has taken place, of the necessary quantity of pure, fresh milk, in sealed bottles, delivered every day. Whatever else is left undone, the

* Diseases Prevention (London) Act, 1883; Public Health (London) Act, 1891.

† See Fabian Tract No. 122, "Municipal Milk and Public Health."

necessary modicum of pure milk, whether taken by the mother or prepared for the child, might at any rate be supplied as the birth-right of every new-born citizen.

These two measures—the universal provision of medical attendance and nursing and the universal provision of milk—would go very far to meet by the co-operative State organization represented by the local health authority, the actual extra expense which a birth causes to the average household. But the provision cannot be deemed complete unless an independent provision is made for the maintenance of the mother during the period for which she ought, in the public interest, to abstain from work.

Maternity Pensions.

The next step therefore must be the establishment of a system of maternity pensions on somewhat similar lines to the old age pensions, which, after much promising, have at last arrived.

These maternity pensions must be free, universal, and non-contributory, for reasons which are familiar to all who have followed the controversy over old age pensions. If they be not universal, they will come as of favor, and be open to the objections rightly urged against all doles, public or private. A contributory scheme could only exist as part of a universal sick fund, and State insurance would be a new principle in this country.* If the contributions were optional, the poorest mothers would get no pension at all. If they were compulsory on a fixed scale, the scheme would still further impoverish those it is intended to benefit. If the contributions were on a sliding scale, the pension would be smallest just where it is most necessary.

Four questions immediately arise :—

How much is the pension to be ?

How long is it to last ?

How is it to be administered ?

What would it cost the community ?

The amount of the pension will of course depend upon the view taken by the community of the purpose it is intended to serve.

To work out a pension scheme, for instance, on the basis of compensation for loss of the mother's earnings would at once involve a sliding scale such as is in force in Germany and Austria, which would be unfair in the working, and benefit the poorest least. Moreover, the theory is fallacious, inasmuch as it views the woman as a worker and not as a mother. Let the pension be regarded rather as the recompense due to the woman for a social service, second to none that can be rendered. The time will come when the community will set a far higher value on that service than it does at present, and will extend the moderate pension scheme here proposed into the full endowment of motherhood. But at present the main point is to tide the mother over a time of crisis as best we may.

* Should the State, as seems likely, inaugurate a scheme of sick or unemployment insurance in the near future, such change in the premises from which the argument starts would, of course, carry with it the necessary modification of the argument itself.

On the one hand then it can be argued that any sum, however small, would be a relief in many cases to the pressure of want. On the other hand, it could fairly be urged that at such a time no reasonable sum, however large, would be wasted, so many are the extra needs of the mother and the new-born child, so all-important to the future is their full satisfaction. For the purposes of this paper, I suggest that a middle course be adopted, not because it is a middle course—for the golden mean is often the worst course of all—but for the following reasons. Too small a pension is uneconomic; unless it secure to some extent the object in view, the expense would not be worth while. Five shillings per week for a month would be money thrown away. On the other hand, a large pension extending over a long period, say, one pound per week for nine months, would cost so much that public opinion would not seriously consider it, and given the present standard of life, it is quite likely that much of it would be wasted. Let us begin with a sum far less than will be provided eventually by a far-seeing and progressive community.

I suggest, therefore, ten shillings per week as being ample to cover the proper maintenance and feeding of an ordinary working-class maternity case. The cost of a maternity case in Queen Charlotte's Lying-in Hospital for provisions alone works out at 7s. 7d. per week. But food can of course be bought by a hospital in large quantities, and therefore at a much lower price than would be possible to a private family.

HOW LONG SHOULD THE PENSION LAST ?

The average duration of a maternity case inside a hospital appears to be a fortnight. The statutory minimum of nursing under the Midwives Act is ten days. The normal period during which upper class mothers keep their beds is three weeks, but for some time after leaving bed, the mother is incapable of any active work without harm to herself. Many internal diseases and nervous complaints, as well as a good deal of the drinking among women, have their origin in getting about too soon. For some weeks at least, whether the mother nurses her baby or not, she requires much more than ordinary rest and nourishment. These considerations apply also, though in a less degree, to the period preceding confinement.

Under the law of Great Britain, the period of enforced cessation from factory work is four weeks. The same period is prescribed in Holland and Belgium. In Switzerland the period is eight weeks.

These laws, though of great value, are often cruel in the working, as they deprive the woman of wages without compensation just at the time she needs money most. The result is they are often evaded. Germany and Austria have recognized this. In Germany women are forbidden to work for six weeks after confinement.* But the insurance law of Germany provides women with free medical attendance, midwife and medicine, and in addition with an allowance not exceeding seventy-five per cent. of her customary wage for the

* The period may be reduced to four weeks on production of a medical certificate.

six weeks. There is further a provision that pregnant women unable to work should be allowed the same amount for not more than six weeks previous to confinement. A similar insurance system exists in Austria and Hungary. In some parts of Germany, the municipality goes still further. In Cologne, the working mother is given a daily grant to stay at home and suckle her child, and visitors see that this condition is fulfilled. The Cologne system has been adopted by some municipalities in France. In Leipsic, every illegitimate child becomes a ward of the municipality, which puts it out to nurse with certified persons who must produce it for inspection on demand.

These provisions enable the government of Germany to enforce the law against the employment of women in the last period of pregnancy without hardship to them, and only when some such measures are adopted in England will our law cease to be evaded, and become a real safeguard instead of a dead letter.

The compensation given to German mothers, though far in advance of anything we have in England, is already felt to be insufficient, but there is a difficulty in making it more generous arising from the fact that the system is a scheme of insurance; the benefits cannot be increased without a rise in the contribution. In a free pension scheme, this difficulty will not occur. A small beginning might be made by way of experiment to familiarize the public with the advantages of caring for maternity, with a knowledge that its scope could be extended indefinitely without dislocation of the scheme.

But the period like the amount must be substantial even at first. If the pension is to have any permanent value it should extend, I suggest, over a period of at least eight weeks: about two weeks before and six weeks after the date on which the birth is expected to take place. I attach no importance to the particular period of eight weeks, which must be regarded as a rough minimum chosen to afford a basis for preliminary calculation of the cost of the scheme to the community.

The Scheme in Working.

The pensions might be administered on the following lines, to the details of which no particular importance need be attached.

The first payment should be made a fortnight before the anticipated date of confinement, on condition that the recipient was not at this time engaged in any occupation likely to prove injurious to her health or to her offspring. Most women would willingly comply with this condition could they afford to do so.

Application should be made at least a month before the first payment.

If, as I suggest, the scheme were accompanied by free nursing and supervision, the case would at once be placed in the hands of the nurse in whose district it fell, who would pay a preliminary visit to the applicant's home, arrange with her as to the best place in the house for the lying-in, and give her good advice as to care and diet.

If any symptoms were unsatisfactory, the applicant would be advised to see the medical officer. Special cases could then be scheduled and watched. Difficult and abnormal cases could be removed to the infirmary in good time where they could be treated more conveniently than in the home, and where recovery would be more rapid. In such a case, the pension, or part of it, would presumably pay for the patient's treatment in hospital. In serious cases it might be possible, on the report of the medical officer, to make grants for extra nourishment, even before the pension became due, and in the same way to keep cases of slow recovery furnished with money longer than the prescribed eight weeks.

There would be no need to tie a patient down to a particular doctor and nurse, provided the persons chosen by the patient were approved of by the pension authority.

Women would be encouraged to make their application as long before the statutory month as possible. At first they would not wish to do so; but in a few years, and especially in first pregnancies, many young mothers would come to feel that they had somewhere to go for advice, and would seek out the pension authority early. Much folly would thus be avoided. The mere handing of a one-sheet pamphlet of elementary rules of health to each applicant would not be without its effect in removing some of the ignorance that at present prevails. The women would talk it over on their door steps and in their courts, and gradually the old wives' tales and remedies would give way to a few tags of sound hygiene.

The pension authority would, as tactfully as possible, use the pension as a lever to promote a higher standard of health in the applicant's home. For instance, as regards overcrowding, if it transpired at the preliminary visit that the only room available for the confinement was one in which not only the woman and her husband but also several children slept, temporary arrangements could be insisted on for the reduction of this number during the receipt of the pension. For a small sum per week, which the pension money would far more than provide, accommodation could be obtained for most of the family elsewhere in the same house, or at least in the same street. Both the mother and baby would thus get a national minimum of air for the time being, and in the course of time, a higher standard of opinion would be set up in the matter of house room, and the way be paved for future reform.

There are numerous other ways in which the local authority might, through the medium of the pension, increase the standard of health. If it be true, as the experts tell us, that breast feeding is all important to national health, then special advantages might be offered to nursing mothers under the scheme.

Supposing a fee for the requisite nursing and medical attendance were charged and deducted from the pension, mothers would still be better off than at present, but if the nursing were free, as suggested above, the cost that would be added to the pension scheme would be compensated for by a considerable saving in our present voluntary machinery.

Each case, as I have said, would be in the hands of a certificated nurse, but much of the routine work could be performed under the direction of the nurse by less skilled women who would play the part of mother substitute as well, for the medical aspect of the case is by no means the most important. When the mother of a family is laid by, few workmen can afford to pay for extra help, and so the children are neglected, go to school unwashed, with dirty clothing, and unbrushed hair, and without properly cooked meals at home. Under the pension scheme, as is the case even now in many country districts under private nursing institutions, a mother substitute, or a pupil nurse, could be provided to be manageress to the family during the first three weeks.

What would the Scheme cost ?

First, as regards the provision of nursing and medical attendance, with the necessary supply of milk.

The cost of nurses varies according to density of population, cost of living, etc., in the various localities. Moreover, in some districts, the average duration of labor is three or four times as long as in others; the cases in such districts require far greater attention during recovery, occupying more of the nurse's time, and therefore costing more. In some town institutions, medical and nursing expenses work out at only 10s. a case, while in some unions and hospitals the out-door cases are reckoned at 15s. a case. We are told that the State does things expensively, and certainly its standard should be as high as that of the best poor law or charitable administration in a matter of this kind; so we will take this last figure as our estimate, and adding thereto the cost of milk for eight weeks, at perhaps another 15s. per case, we shall arrive at an outside figure of £1 10s. per case for nursing, medical expenses, and milk.

Now, as regards the cost of pensions.

The total number of births in the United Kingdom for the year 1907 was 1,148,573. Some of these of course were twins, or even triplets. In such cases I do not suppose a full 10s. would be given for each child. More probably it would be decided to augment the pension by a small sum, say only 2s. 6d. per week extra, for each additional child; but this is a mere matter of detail, and need hardly enter into our rough calculation. Without making any allowance for this, the pension of 10s. per week for eight weeks on the basis of the 1907 figures would involve a cost to the community of £4,600,000 per annum. If ten per cent. be added for the extra cost of special cases, we get £5,000,000 as the outside cost of pensions. With the addition of £1,750,000 for the cost of provision of nursing, medical attendance, and milk, the total is £6,750,000.

If the pension were paid through the existing old age pension authority, the cost of administration would be almost negligible.

But this is only the gross cost. From it must be deducted a sum for non-claimants, the number of whom would depend on how far the scheme were accompanied by inspection and other requirements which would keep off those who did not really need it. Speaking

roughly, we may take it that the servant-keeping class would not be likely to apply for the pension. This class was estimated by Mr. Booth at 11·3 per cent. in London, and by Mr. Rowntree at 28 per cent. in York. It is reasonable to suppose that at least 20 per cent. of the mothers would not apply for pensions under the scheme suggested, in which case the amount to be written off under this heading would be £1,350,000, leaving a total of £5,400,000.

This expense, which in round figures may be described as five and a half millions of money, would be accompanied, of course, by a considerable saving in three directions: i. the rates; ii. charity; iii. friendly societies, etc.

i. If the estimate I have quoted above be correct, namely, that fifteen thousand children are born every year in poor law institutions, and five thousand infants under one year subsist on outdoor relief, it is evident that from the cost of the scheme there must be subtracted the expenses under this head.

In England and Wales, the proportion of illegitimate births in workhouses is estimated at seventy per cent., but there is a growing tendency among respectable married women to use the workhouse as a maternity hospital. This tendency would undoubtedly be arrested by the pension scheme now proposed, but the great bulk of the maternity work under the poor law would probably continue because it deals with those without homes, casuals, illegitimate cases, etc. These persons would be relieved as at present, but the expense, instead of falling on the rates, would be defrayed out of the pensions to which they, in common with the rest of the community, would be entitled.

ii. There would also be an enormous saving in the expenses of hospitals, nursing institutions, and other charitable agencies.

The general hospitals take in cases with serious complications and treat outdoor cases for the purpose of educating their students. This would continue as at present and work in with the scheme, the hospitals being paid for the work done out of the money voted for the maternity law. Thus their sphere of usefulness would probably be enlarged and their finances at the same time relieved.

The lying-in hospitals would find that some who at present used them would, under the pension scheme, prefer to remain in their own homes; but the more complicated cases, which now remain ill-attended at home, would be removed under doctor's recommendation to the lying-in hospitals, which would thus find their activity increased and their work paid for. Over nine per cent. of the births of London are treated by lying-in hospitals at a cost of about £25,000 a year. Under this head alone then this sum would be saved to the charitable public of London every year and be liberated for use in other ways. Similar amounts would be saved in other centres.

As for the nursing institutions, their great work would at last be nationalized, or, if the institutions remained under private management, the nurses they provide would be paid for by the community for the cases they attended.

It is impossible to estimate what the saving to charities would be without far fuller details as to the expense of hospitals and other charitable agencies than I have found it worth while to obtain ; but if the saving under this head is less than might be supposed, that is only another way of saying how inadequately maternity is provided for under our haphazard charity system, which does not, indeed cannot, attempt to cover the whole ground.

iii. Lastly, there would be a small saving in the benefits given for confinements by thrift societies and clubs. The money would be thus liberated for fuller benefits in other directions.

Objections to the Scheme.

A host of objections present themselves to the mind against the scheme I have outlined. They may be divided into two heads—practical and theoretical.

The first practical objection will come from enthusiasts who will say that 10s. per week is not enough : it will not replace the wages in many cases, much less afford the extra comfort and nourishment required at such a time.

But the fact is that the better-class working woman who is earning more than 10s. per week is not likely to be so near the poverty line as her poorer sister, and the pension, though acceptable, is not so absolutely vital in her case. The 10s. will be all to the good for her, while for the very poor it will more than replace anything they could earn, and will go some way at least towards securing that national minimum of comfort at a time of crisis in the life of the individual and of the community which is the main purpose it is intended to serve.

Another objection is that in many households the 10s. may not be spent on the mother and the baby : the husband would drink the money. My belief is that these cases will be far fewer than is often supposed. Even rich people, if they found themselves in such a position that they could not rely on a future more than a few days ahead, if they lived in a world of destroyed illusions, where memory is all and hope has little place, would probably do much as the very poor do ; they would drop calculation and let things slide. But give the poorest even eight weeks during which they can see their way clear, and they will feel less helpless, they will derive a stimulus from the new sensation, they will behave more sensibly. Still the objection has force none the less, and be the cases few or many, they must be guarded against. The nurse will see at once how the land lies, and acting on her report, the local authority should schedule the case, and pay the pension in kind through the nurse, or through inspectors or health visitors, whose business it should be to look after such cases. The difficulty is there as in the case of out relief. It has to be met, but it is not insuperable. It would be ridiculous to deprive the whole nation of a beneficial scheme just because there are rogues about.

Another difficulty I clearly foresee is that of arranging the staff of nurses, doctors, etc., so long as the hospitals and medical schools

remain in private hands. As things are at present arranged, there would inevitably be overlapping and jealousy and undue expenditure. Indeed, if overlapping is not now apparent, it is merely because there is no attempt by voluntary agency to cover nearly the whole ground, which is strong evidence of the need of the scheme. But the time is not far distant when the health services will be socialized, and the first beginnings of a far humbler scheme than that mentioned in the present paper would tend to hasten the event.

Finally, there is a powerful theoretical objection to any scheme which lessens the burden of maternity, namely, that it will tend unduly to increase the number of births amongst the poorest classes.

Three considerations must be urged in answer to this :

- (a) The poorest classes already breed almost as fast as they can, faster than any other part of the community.
- (b) The tendency of parents is to become more prudent in proportion as they have more chances in life and a better position to lose.

The more comfortable working classes, as represented by members of friendly societies and trade unions, for instance, have not, on the average, so many children as the unskilled laborer.*

- (c) In Germany, where compensation, fifty to seventy-five per cent. of the wages lost, is paid to the mother, this payment for confinement, so far from increasing, is a diminishing proportion of the total sick pay.

But it is possible that, apart from increase of births, there might, or indeed there probably would be, an increase of population due to the reduction of infant mortality. This is not necessarily an evil. Whether it is so in fact or not depends wholly on the character and quality of the increased population. Surely an increase due to causes that make for a higher level of health all round cannot be said to be an evil except by those who are haunted by the ancient bogey of over-population.

Our object is not to increase the population, but to obtain a national minimum of health for the race. What though this incidentally increase the population, too? If the future race is only sufficiently healthy and efficient, over-population will be no danger to it. It will not allow the few to displace it, to monopolize the land, to pin it into slums, and to live upon it ; but it will claim its heritage, it will survive in the struggle for existence, it will be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth, replacing, if need be, more effete and less healthy peoples. The modern topsy turvy view of a child as an expense, instead of a source of wealth, will not survive the economic disorganization from which it springs.

Advantages of the Scheme.

Over against all such objections there stand out clearly the advantages to the whole nation of such a scheme as I have outlined.

* See Fabian Tract No. 131.

To the individual these advantages are obvious. They may be summed up as follows :

1. Money at a time of crisis in the home. As Bernard Shaw has truly said, "What is the matter with the poor is poverty."
2. Health to the mother and the child consequent upon the increased care and attention at that time. Moreover, the mother would be saved many of the future consequences of bad recoveries. Thousands of women take to drink at first purely to gain temporary relief from ailments consequent upon unhealthy conditions of motherhood.
3. The husbands would be saved much worry and expense due to the incomplete recoveries and ill-health of their wives.
4. Above all, there would be increased affection between the mother and child springing up in the golden days of rest that will replace the present nightmare of worry, affection that will bear priceless fruit in the home life and conditions of the future.

Great as the boon would be in individual cases, the advantages to the community would be greater still. In the first place, the rate of infant mortality would be reduced, and at the same time would disappear the degeneration of the children that survive. It is impossible to over-rate the value of the health lessons that would be received in the home during the regular visits of the nurses. Little by little, closed windows, dirty bottles, "comforters," ignorance of management and feeding, wanton exposure of children, and the hundred-and-one details that go to pile up our figures of mortality and disease and leave their legacy of trouble and expense to the survivors, would disappear before the method and common sense of a more enlightened generation. Once establish your national minimum in so important a sphere of life as child-bearing, and the seed is bound to grow. It will develop into full endowment of motherhood, and bear fruit in the ever-increasing freedom and health of the coming race.

"Superfluous Women."

In the second place, there seems every reason to believe that with healthier conditions the present disparity of number between the sexes would also disappear. In 1907 there were living in this country 16,879,509 males and 18,066,091 females. This excess of females is not due to an excess at birth, for there are always more boys than girls born, the mean proportion for the decade 1897-1906 being 1,037 boys born for every 1,000 girls. It is due simply to the fact that male children succumb more readily to the dangers that await them in infancy. The proportion of deaths to 1,000 births in 1907 was as follows :—

Under 1 day	-	12·90	males	and	9·71	females
„ 1 week	-	14·78	„	„	11·26	„
„ 1 month	-	46·17	„	„	34·98	„
„ 1 year	-	130·26	„	„	104·49	„

The death-rate under 5 years per 1,000 living was 44·77 males to 37·02 females.*

* See Registrar-General's Reports for England and Wales.

Now, as these infant deaths arise largely from causes that are preventable, and are more active in urban than in rural districts, it follows that the present ratio between the sexes is abnormal, and would be modified by legislation of the kind proposed.

Although this scheme was drawn up before the appearance of the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission, and although Maternity Pensions are not suggested there, yet I venture to think there is nothing in the scheme inconsistent with the principles underlying that report, or with the facts and figures contained therein. Indeed, it would seem to fulfil completely two conditions upon which the Commissioners lay great stress; first, that the service of birth and infancy should be unified, and secondly, that the normal place for the mother and the child is the home.

It has often been urged that the endowment of motherhood would tend to facilitate early marriages, and in this way prevent much misery, immorality and disease consequent upon the economic impossibility of recognized relations between the sexes at a time when the passions are strongest. I do not think the present scheme would achieve this. It would hardly touch the middle classes, and among the poorer classes of the community, which it would undoubtedly benefit, marriage is already embarked upon at a sufficiently early age.

Conclusion.

One word in conclusion. Twice, and twice only, in modern history, according to Dr. Newman, has the mortality of the little children of the working classes been sensibly reduced. Once was during the cotton famine in Lancashire, the other was during the siege of Paris. In both cases, poverty and privation sent up the general death rate whilst reducing infant mortality, in Paris by as much as forty per cent.*

The paralysis of industry spelt life for the race. Why? Because the parents were at home and the children had their meed of care and kindness.

What does this mean? It means *that we buy our industrial wealth at the price of our national health.*

We are, in fact, living on capital all the time. Financiers refuse to see this. They calculate in terms of money, and dub the rest of the world sentimentalists; but human life, human labor, are not sentimental, but material, considerations, and social problems are not antagonistic to, but essentially a part of, sound finance. The civilization that survives will be that which takes the social items into its account. This can never be done while the two sets of items are in different hands, while the profits of industry are swept into private coffers, and the wreckage and waste of capital is made good out of the public treasury.

Every step taken by the public towards assuming responsibility that is theirs brings the day nearer when in self defence they will

* Dr. Newman, "Infant Mortality."

insist on drawing up a national balance sheet of their own on sane lines. And there is, I venture to believe, no responsibility at present neglected which they ought in common sense to assume before that of the mothers and the little children, the breeding ground of ages long past, the infinite potentiality of the super-race that is to be.

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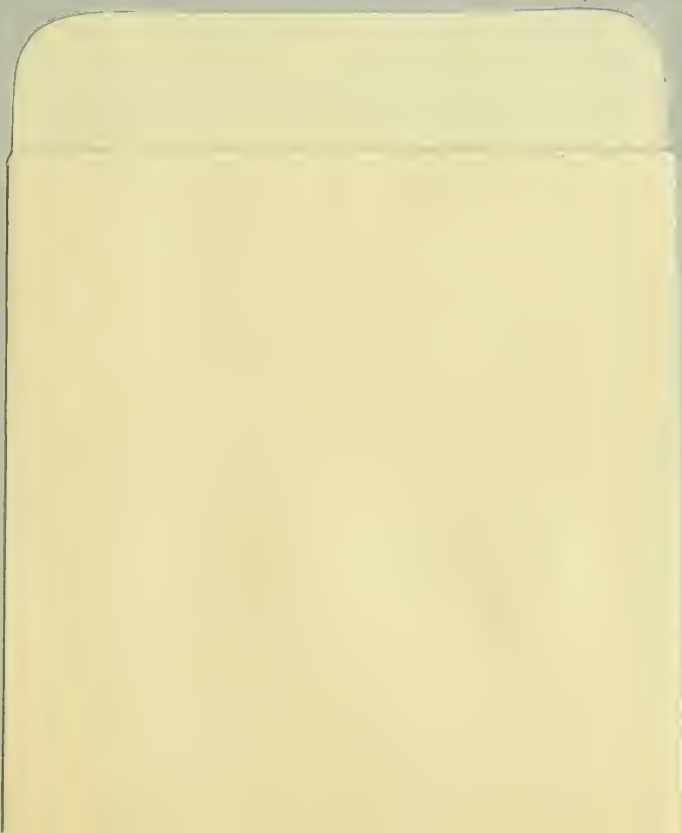
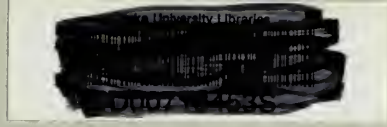
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